The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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NEW YEAR: 1938

WE HAVE on our desk, as the old year is dying and the new year is struggling to be born, three timely and significant press releases from our State Department. We propose to examine each of them in turn and to draw certain conclusions that may be unpalatable but are forced on us by the logic of the evidence at hand.

In a recent radio address, Mr. Cordell Hull asserted that the attainment of a durable peace is still a matter of hope rather than a reality. We have created incredibly efficient means of destroying life and property in military action, but we are still far from success in our desperate and frantic search for means of abolishing the scourge of war.

One thing is clear. Our problems and difficulties, he pointed out, our sense of bafflement and confusion, do not spring from any material causes, nor from our inability to visualize our potentialities and our possibilities. The roots of our tragic shortcomings lie in the realm of the spirit. We find ourselves constantly defeated in our efforts to improve conditions within and among nations solely because of the craven, selfish and perverted spirit which animates contemporary human relationships. Our most earnest endeavors are all too frequently defeated because we fail to find reliable guideposts in the basic sphere of relations of man to man.

Yet such guideposts exist in those unchanging moral and spiritual principles of thought and action which inspired, moulded and fashioned the robust civilization of Christendom and which still vitalize, in however an imperfect way, the crumbling civilization of our day. Too many human relationships, within and among nations, he declared, rest upon the shifting sands of selfish search for immediate advantage; of mistrust and enmity; of refusal to respect the rights of others, or to fulfil those Christian obligations toward others, without which barbarism rather than civ-

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ilized existence becomes the scheme of life. Inevitably all of us, the victors as well as the victims in this continuous and blind struggle, must become engulfed in the ruin of that social structure which we call civilization. History records too many instances of the downfall of civilizations consequent upon moral and spiritual decadence.

"That is the fate which inexorably awaits us," he concluded, "unless we resolutely build our social structure upon the rock of mutual confidence and friendliness; of clear-sighted differentiation between ephemeral and lasting attainments; of sincere and scrupulous respect for the rights of others and whole-hearted fulfilment of obligations toward others; of understanding and cooperative effort between individuals and nations."

We now put to one side for the moment Secretary Hull's courageous plea for the immediate restoration of the principles of Christian morality in human relationships and take up a vastly different press release which powerfully illustrates the present drift toward barbarism and chaos. During the month of November alone, our State Department issued 495 export licenses for arms, ammunition and implements of war. The total value of these commodities was estimated at $5,746,989.15. China headed the list with purchases amounting to $1,702,370. Next in order, among the Big Twelve, were Soviet Russia, Canada, Japan, Mexico, Turkey, Germany, Rumania, Brazil, French West Africa, and Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Australia concludes the Big Twelve list with purchases of war material totaling $78,711.25.

We do not subscribe to the naive theory that the grave problem presented by the current armament race, in which both the so-called Fascist nations and the democracies are playing such an unenviable part, can be solved by promptly hanging all munitions makers and salesmen. When peoples and nations believe that they are the victims of injustice, and when no agency apparently exists to redress those very real grievances, it is not surprising that they should prepare to assert their rights by force. When the will to war exists, men will fight, assuming the complete absence of munitions, with bricks and broomhandles, and when these are not available, with their fists. It is therefore necessary, in our opinion, to uproot the fundamental and underlying causes of war as speedily as possible.

No one nation can solve the present crisis. Our only hope lies in the field of cooperative action on the part of those peoples and nations who sincerely desire to bring about, at whatever sacrifice, that tranquillity of order which is peace. But this in turn depends upon the strength of our zeal and adherence to essential Christian principles without which all peace efforts are and will continue to be a delusion and a fraud.

The third press release informed us that the government of Finland honored its debt obligation to the United States on December 15 by the payment of principal and semi-annual interest in bonds and cash. The sum involved was $232,143. Secretary Hull took occasion, at the same time, to reiterate that our government is fully disposed to discuss, through diplomatic channels, any proposals which other debtor nations may desire to put forward in regard to the settlement of their debts and to give them careful consideration with a view to their eventual submission to Congress.

Two great European democracies sent similar replies. The amount due from France, this year, was $22,308,312.22. The French government courteously thanked our government and emphasized again its sincere desire to seek the basis for a settlement of the debt acceptable to both countries. On December 15, Great Britain owed $122,670,765.05. The British government assured our government that it will be willing to reopen discussions on the subject whenever circumstances are such as to warrant the hope that a satisfactory result might be reached.

The so-called Fascist powers have violated international agreements. We are not writing a brief for Fascism; but we would like to direct attention to the highly ironical and tragic fact that, while the democratic nations have frequently expressed the utmost concern over the wanton breakdown of international morality, their own record in this regard is not above reproach. We hope that 1938 will see an end to this sort of hypocrisy and that a sincere and whole-hearted effort will be made, by individuals and nations, to achieve the peace of Christ on earth.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

BEFORE Christmas Eve economists were able to point to certain business index lines that seemed to be leveling off after the most acute decline on the charts of American industry. These lines have reflected increasing unemployment, business bewilderment and political cleavages, but not yet the serious social unrest that will certainly disturb the country in a few months if business does not quickly revive. There is little fat on the ribs of the citizen or his government to sustain the body during hungry days. How much the government is helping is questionable. The special session ended with Congress reporting mostly negative accomplishments, except in the hopeful field of housing. The accomplishments are none the less probably genuine. At least six weeks of somewhat fruitless milling about has been gone through, and the regular session will not have to undergo that.

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Farm bills did pass both Houses, rather shocking ones most analysts agree, but everyone was determined to have a farm law, and if the House bill prevails, the result may not be disastrous. The tax hearings have been exhaustive and when Congress attacks that problem next month, it will not do so in ignorance. In general, the groundwork has been laid for a productive regular session of the National Legislature. If the fear of the recession continues so paralyzing, however, and the tendency to bribe business with all sorts of concessions keeps up, what Congress produces will be sadly reactionary. If it is both reactionary and unsuccessful, then the President can well be expected to start a new New Deal on a much more radical basis at about the time summer comes. If he will not start it, someone else inevitably and rightly will. Many people think the progressives are deliberately giving the conservatives all the rope they want right now, with the traditional idea in the back of their minds.

MORE complete reports on the sinking of the Panay and three Standard Oil tankers in the Yangtze River reveal, according to eye-witness accounts, that the outrage was the result of a deliberate attack rather than a mistake in the identity of the nationality of the vessels. The bombing was accompanied by machine-gun fire not only from the Japanese planes but also from Japanese military launches. An unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the survivors who, in small boats, were trying to reach shore. While awaiting the reply of Emperor Hirohito to President Roosevelt's strong message, debate was active on the question whether the United States should withdraw its naval vessels and marines from the danger zone in China. We are of the opinion that American citizens in China are entitled to the protection of our government and should not be exposed to the uncertain mercies of Japanese militarism which gave such a convincing demonstration of wanton savagery in the occupation of Nanking. Senator Nye believes that to continue the presence of American forces in the danger zones is but to invite additional incidents to jeopardize our peace. We are convinced, however, that it is the worst kind of folly to run away from danger. Where are we to take refuge? Is any stronghold safe, if the willingness of its occupants to defend it is questionable? On the other hand, what is the limit to the sacrifices that will be demanded of us, if we betray a disposition to exchange our rights for an untroubled quiet and repose? These pertinent questions, proposed by Professor Arthur A. Holcombe of Harvard University, deserve serious consideration by those who are continually advocating a national policy of retreat in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Ludlow Amendment

THE PROPOSED Ludlow amendment to the Constitution, providing that "except in the event of an invasion of the United States or its territorial possessions and attack upon its citizens residing therein," the authority of Congress to declare war shall not become effective until confirmed by all the votes cast in a nation-wide referendum, reflects the same extreme pacifist point of view that resulted in the short-sighted Neutrality Act. The amendment, in our opinion, seeks to repeat the same essential mistake of trying to cross bridges before we come to them. We are not in favor of a policy of crystal-gazing by those who believe that the solution of all international problems largely consists in turning our back to the rest of the world and closing our eyes to the dangers inherent in a policy of rigid isolation. We are opposed to any constitutional amendment that would tie the hands of the executive and our State Department in the conduct of foreign policy. Doubtless considerable pressure was brought to bear upon members of Congress to force out the resolution for legislative consideration, but we believe that the utterly impractical nature of the measure will result in its speedy defeat.

Balance Wheels

THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION has decided to write off old notes amounting to $2,675,000,000. Congress will be asked to cancel that much in RFC notes held by the Treasury. The Treasury will see $1,780,000,000 of its book worth go out the window—that money has been spent on relief. Among the other items, "there is a substantial recoverable amount," and it will be up to the Treasury to recover whatever the sum is, directly and not through the RFC. It is a bookkeeping operation, of no new profit and loss significance, only making the government ledgers conform more closely to harsh reality. It does not mean that the RFC, the most tremendous and probably the most speculative bank the world has yet seen, is closing up shop. On the contrary, Chairman Jesse Jones specifically stated that he expected to deal soon again with the railroads. With prosperity receding further and further, there is no serious suggestion that this pliable depression tool, this fount of the currents that trickle down in the economic drought, the capitalist balance to home and work relief, shall be liquidated. The President gave his last budget message before the extent of the recession could be weighed, and the statement he made then that the RFC would make no new loans, we now hear from Chairman Jones, meant loans to new parties, and not additional accommodations to old friends. The RFC has been the chief bulwark against the

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kind of deflation our business leaders seem to dislike most of all, that is, corporate bankruptcy on a large scale. The unemployed, in order to avoid the more personal kind of deflation they most deplore, might trade the RFC with big business, for an adequate WPA.

Bad Taste

THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY and the Chase and Sanborn coffee merchants were guilty of a serious blunder in presenting Mae West in a vulgar travesty of the biblical account of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Martin Quigley informs us, in *Motion Picture Daily,* that some of the material palmed off by Miss West on December 12 is by no means new to the members of the various motion picture censorship boards because they have been cutting it out for years. The broadcast was therefore a nice salvaging operation for Miss West because it gave her an opportunity to use certain other material for which in Hollywood there is no longer a market. The sponsors of the program publicly expressed regret for "any unintended offense that may have been given." We are confident that there will not be a repetition of this stupid display of bad taste on the radio on Sunday evenings or at any other time.

Religion and Political Man

THE MERE routine utterance of truths tends to diminish their appreciation. However, hope for mankind lies in the opposite fact—that certain salient truths have a way of breaking through the apathy engendered by accustomedness in the eye and ear of the perceiver, and of sounding not only true but also fresh and new. Of such were the reminders uttered by Judge Irving Lehman in his recent address before the New York Society of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. This meeting, honoring the sesquicentennial of the signing of our Constitution, was told by Judge Lehman of the supreme service rendered, not only by that document in safeguarding all religious liberty, but also—and chiefly—by the religion so safeguarded. "There is an irreconcilable conflict between religious groups and a totalitarian state." These simple words enshrine the truth which, on the political side, has actually remade the world, for they define the supremacy of conscience. From ancient Judaism, where that supremacy was certainly recognized, but also qualified in the general imagination by identification with a people, a race, on through Christianity, heir and fulfiller of the Ancient Dispensation, and proclaimer of the truths of God as universal, this enthronement of conscience has been derived. It has touched mankind everywhere, in some degree—even those portions of mankind which reject it. It has set up everywhere a principle, not of resistance and disorganization, but of order and growth within a hierarchy of values. For, properly considered, it is not the religious man who is the outlaw when he defies the unjust encroachments of the State; it is the State which is the outlaw, in attempting to set aside that which is morally ineluctable. Just as, in the fine phrase of Walter Lippmann, the Christian Gospel "anchored the rights of man in the structure of the universe," so it underwrote forever the first of all those rights: the right to possess one's own soul before God. No state has ever been able to disregard this right permanently. The effort is constantly made, in one guise or another; and the effort always fails in the long run. It is well for us all to remember, as Judge Lehman reminds us, Cardinal Faulhaber's challenge to the power of the State in the name of Christianity—his appeal to Christians "to uphold the prophetic ideals of love and justice which are the foundations of Judaism and Christianity" alike.

We Wonder

IT WOULD be splendid indeed if Santa Claus had brought us all something positive as the result of the researches into the cause of influenza which have been begun in the little New York village of Yorktown Heights under the combined auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Westchester County Health Department. Even if he made it a New Year's gift instead of bringing it around on Christmas Eve, most of us would be glad to forgive the delay. However, as those conducting the researches opine that they will take from five to ten years, these wistful hopes are perhaps a little premature. What gives special color to this survey is its announced intention of determining (if possible, that is) whether animals, domestic or otherwise, have any share in spreading the influenza germ. Ferrets and swine are specifically mentioned, but that may just be tact, employed with a view to placating dog- and cat-lovers: for we note the inclusion, in the news story, of the further phrase, "and perhaps all quadrupeds." As was to be expected, these preliminary announcements elicited a vivacious reply from numerous Yorktown Heighters partial to domestic pets. One man, who might almost be considered a test case, averred that he has "seven dogs, twelve cats, fourteen ducks and five chickens," as well as "a South American honey-bear bought off a sailor." If such a man has never had influenza, it should certainly tell mightily in the scales when all the probabilities are balanced up. Our own theory is that some people get influenza and others do not. Our further theory is that those who care for animals will not easily be persuaded to give them up as a possible source of infection.

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AN EVER-NORMAL GRANARY

By JOHN MICHAEL KENNEDY

NO ONE who reads the papal encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," on the reconstruction of the social order, can entertain any doubts as to what the Holy Father considers the principal reason for the prevalence of Communism. It is the hardness, and the cruelty, and the relentlessness of present-day economic conditions. These conditions have made, and continue to make, millions of the dispossessed throughout the world easy converts to the Marxian philosophy.

That the unfortunate state of affairs is primarily due to mere sordid selfishness Pius XI makes abundantly clear in his message. That is why he insists that by far the most important step to be taken to remedy such a situation is a correction of morals through a return to the teaching of the Gospel. Economic life, he says, must be inspired by Christian principles.

The Holy Father stated, however, that a reform of the social order is also necessary. The evil of unrestrained individualism, as he pointed out, has damaged and all but ruined

> . . . the highly developed social life which once flourished in a variety of prosperous institutions organically linked with each other. . . . Social life [has] lost entirely its organic form.

Evidence of this social disorder is all around us. Workmen lose their jobs when all about them are those who sorely need the products made by them. Farmers produce abundantly and are punished for it through disastrously low prices; and still the abundance fails to reach those who need it most. Unreasonableness, instability and uncertainty seem to be identifying marks of present-day society. They are, in fact, the principal reasons for the collapse of democracy in many nations, and for the serious threat to parliamentary government in other countries. Even those who love freedom of action dearly will prefer to have it limited rather than put up indefinitely with injustice and disorder.

An example of instability and uncertainty, with their concomitants, injustice and disorder, is to be found in our own country in the drastic fluctuations in supplies and prices of farm products. We swing from overabundance to scarcity and back again, and sooner or later these swings harm everyone: farmers, city workers and business men. The welfare of each group is so dependent on that of each other group that injury to one eventually means injury to all.

Within the past four years we have experienced two of the worst droughts in our history. These droughts curtailed greatly our supplies of certain products, such as wheat and corn. The average yield per acre of corn in 1934 and 1936, the last drought years, was the lowest on record. The shortage of corn and of other feedstuffs and the destruction of pastures resulted in recent years in a scarcity of beef and hog products. Naturally, high prices accompanied the limited supplies of these meats, and consumers who could not afford to pay such prices had to forego these foods. Moreover, the high prices helped only farmers who had things to sell. Those whose crops were destroyed did not benefit and frequently had to be assisted by relief authorities. But such help to injured farmers does no good to the handling, processing, transporting, and storing trades whose activities are dependent on a steady flow of goods. The reduction or interruption of this flow leads them to drop unneeded workers.

On the other hand, we have had a few extremely good crop years in the past decade. The fact that we still have a greatly overexpanded agricultural plant, chiefly as a result of the shift from horses to motor vehicles and the loss of foreign markets, has played a big part in adding to the size of crops in these good years. The present season, according to the Department of Agriculture, has been one of the most productive in our history, its total output being only 6 percent less than the all-time peak reached in the year 1920. The 1937 wheat, corn, rye, hay, bean, peanut, peach, pear, grape, sweet potato and tobacco crops are all above normal. The rice and cotton crops are the largest on record, the apple crop the second largest, that of peanuts the third largest, and that of potatoes the sixth largest on record. But these bumper crops have already, in certain cases, led to ruinously low prices to farmers, and such prices are of little benefit to consumers since they are seldom reflected in correspondingly low retail prices. What unfair farm prices do instead is to reduce agricultural purchasing power, and when farmers, who make up a quarter of the population, curtail or cease buying industrial goods, city workers lose their jobs.

This curtailed buying power is made inevitable by the rigidity of industrial prices. Instead of trying, through reductions in prices on their own goods, to enable the large farm population to continue buying, most manufacturers in the past have supported prices by reducing production and dropping workers. Farmers have long pleaded for a better relationship between prices received and those paid by them, and the justice of their plea is given considerable support by Pius XI in "Quad-

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ragesimo Anno." In this encyclical the Holy Father says:

> A reasonable relationship between different wages here enters into consideration. Intimately connected with this is a reasonable relationship between the prices obtained for the products of the various economic groups, agrarian, industrial, etc. Where this harmonious proportion is kept, a man's various economic activities combine and unite into one single organism and become members of a common body, lending each other mutual help and service. For then only will the economic and social organism be soundly established and attain its end, when it secures for all and each those goods which the wealth and resources of nature, technical achievement, and the social organization of economic affairs can give.

The extreme fluctuations in supplies and prices of farm products also permit a vicious speculation in life's necessities which accentuates the instability and uncertainty in every person's life. The Holy Father in his encyclical condemns the speculation evil in the following words:

> Easy returns, which an open market offers to anyone, lead many to interest themselves in trade and exchange, their one aim being to make clear profits with the least labor. By their unchecked speculation prices are raised and lowered out of mere greed for gain, making void all the most prudent calculations of manufacturers.

It is obvious that steady and remunerative employment in industrial plants and commercial establishments while speculation goes unchecked is out of the question.

Do we have to go through these periods of overabundance and scarcity with their apparently inevitable train of unemployment hardship and other evils? Why can we not, as President Roosevelt has so aptly expressed it, "level the peaks of oversupply into the valleys of shortage and disaster?"

There is nothing new about setting aside food reserves in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. Perhaps the most famous example of such a practise is that of the young Joseph while in the service of the Egyptian king. The Chinese government for centuries purchased grain in bumper crop years at prices higher than would otherwise have prevailed and sold it in short crop years at prices lower than would otherwise have prevailed. Some nations today are busy piling up food and feed reserves for nationalistic and militaristic reasons. A program involving the storage of agricultural reserves in this country, however, should have a more far-reaching purpose than most of the granary plans evolved heretofore. It should aim to stabilize farm production and prices, and thus bring about a steadier and more even flow of farm commodities. This, in turn, would promote stability of industrial production, employment, and wages, and such stability would remove much of the uncertainty and chaos in our economic, social and political life.

The principal tools to be used in maintaining an ever-normal supply of basic farm products might be loans on commodities stored in years of abundance. These loans would do two things: (1) permit the setting up of reserves ample for any contingency; (2) assure farmers a minimum value for the products on which loans have been made. An outstanding example of the effectiveness of commodity loans when they are made with the proper safeguards is afforded by the loans which the federal government made in 1933 on corn stored under seal in cribs on farms.

The experience gained in the federal commodity loan programs of the past few years would be invaluable to the successful operation of similar programs under a plan for maintaining an ever-normal granary. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace has pointed out that it has been learned, among other things, that loans can be more effective in the case of certain commodities than in that of others in preventing prices from falling to ruinous levels. For instance, it has thus far been found that not only can loans on corn, the price of which is determined mostly by the domestic market, be extremely effective, but that it is sometimes both safe and advisable to set them at a figure somewhat above the market value. On the other hand, in the case of cotton, an export commodity the price of which is determined on the world market, to extend loans at a figure above the market value tends to prevent the free movement of the crop into export channels. Furthermore, at no time should the loan figure be too high, because consistently favorable weather might under such circumstances cause to the taxpayers losses so great as to wreck the program.

It is obvious that if farmers found the federal government willing to take, through loan or purchase, huge quantities of farm products, they would be inclined to produce as much as possible, and without regard to market requirements. The experience of the Federal Farm Board indicated such was the case. The board purchased millions of bushels of wheat and bales of cotton, and the purchases not only failed to help farmers in the long run but actually resulted in a further depression of farm prices; in addition to this, the federal government, that is, taxpayers, took a tremendous loss on the transaction. Why was this? The principal reason was that farmers kept producing at a high rate and thus adding to the price-depressing surpluses. The second largest wheat and cotton crops produced in this country up to that time were harvested in 1931, after the Farm Board had bought large quantities of these commodities.

Therefore, methods for preventing the granary

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or warehouse from overflowing and wrecking the farm price structure, as well as the federal government's investment in commodity loans, should be provided. The first method, and one which should be employed immediately, is an effective tie-up between the granary plan and the federal soil conservation programs since the proper protection and economic use of agricultural land tend to prevent the production of surpluses of certain of the soil-depleting crops that are also cash crops.

The Department of Agriculture has found, however, that even with the most efficient conservation of soil, surpluses of some crops will at times develop. Consequently, an ever-normal granary plan should be set up in such a manner as to enable farmers themselves to handle surpluses in excess of the required reserves, and to prevent these stocks from unduly depressing farm prices and starting the vicious circle of lost farm purchasing power, lost city jobs, more lost farm purchasing power, and so on. One way this might be done is by placing limitations on the movement of surplus farm commodities. Such limitations, naturally, should not be put into effect until farmers had declared themselves strongly in favor of the restrictions.

But regardless of the methods finally employed to prevent an ever-normal granary from being wrecked by unmanageable surpluses, the need for some plan to eliminate, or at least lessen, the evils of instability of farm supplies, drastic price fluctuation, speculation, and disparity between farm and factory prices is apparent. If through such a plan some of the disorder and injustice in our economic life can be removed, an important step toward the reconstruction of the social order, for which the Holy Father so earnestly pleads in "Quadragesimo Anno," will have been made.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN MEXICO

By RICHARD PATTEE

DURING the past two years ominous rumblings have come out of Mexico indicative of a sharp deviation in the steady march toward the socialist state. In some quarters these indications have been interpreted as the prelude of a serious and organized effort to change the trend of government policy and modify the existing program of social transformation. While it would be premature to assert that a reaction against vanguardism has actually taken form, there is sufficient evidence to affirm that all is not perfect with the experiment in leftism in the republic to the south of us. The discontent has been accentuated by a marked economic decline and at the same time has been accompanied by what is more remarkable still: a concerted attack on the ideology that underlies the present Mexican state. The two factors that are influencing contemporary Mexico may be termed material and ideological: the first, the fact that the tangible realities of the country do not measure up to the expectations and prophecies of the socialist leaders; and the second, the beginning of the exposé of the revolutionary mythology that during nearly thirty years has been virtually unchallenged. These are the visible signs of unrest, vague and uncertain so far, but charged with enormous possibilities for the future.

The first of the economic manifestations to demonstrate the seriousness of the situation is the steady decrease in production, with the consequent alarming increase in the price of essential commodities, bringing down on the Mexican masses the full burden of misery and distress. Generally speaking, the agricultural population of Mexico constitutes an overwhelming proportion of the total, in contrast with the extremely small class of urban laborers. According to the census of 1930, the industrial population of the republic, including oil field workers, factory employees and the like, totaled only 2.44 percent of the entire Mexican population, which was given as 16,404,030. More significant still, from the economic point of view and as evidence of the benefits received by the urban proletariat, is that this industrial element has received, during the past three years, an average wage of 4.44 pesos, while the agricultural class in general received only 2.09 pesos. This fact must be understood in relation to the rapidly rising cost of living. In addition, the industrial laborer received an indirect increase through the establishment of the weekly day of rest with pay.

The result of these increases on the part of industry and the state has been the larger amount of money actually in circulation. President Cárdenas, in his report to Congress in September of this year, pointed out that in 1936 the total amount of money in circulation was 405,219,000 pesos, while a year later, it had increased to 498,358,000. Logically enough, with this increase in the currency available, the extrinsic value or the purchasing power diminished, with the result that the working class received more money in order to pay higher prices for the essential commodities. A vicious circle was created with increased wages and benefits, larger monetary circulation, followed by the rise of prices. In spite of all this, the agricul-

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tural laborer received no increase in accordance with this abnormal condition.

Difficult as the strictly financial situation has become, another economic factor has accompanied it, augmenting in consequence the distress in Mexico. This is the reduction or diminution of production in many spheres.

The most graphic example of this decrease is to be found in the statistics of one of the most basic articles in the Mexican scheme of things: corn. In 1931, the production of corn reached the high mark of 2,138,676 tons, with a value that surpassed 102,440,803 pesos. By 1933, the amount was only 1,923,864 tons and in 1934, had decreased to 1,723,477. The value of the corn production for the year, 1934, was only 89,830,-455 pesos. Taking an average for the four years, 1930-1934, it is seen that the corn production was about 1,827,000 tons. The figure becomes all the more significant if taken in connection with the production during the last four years of the régime of Porfirio Diaz, preceding the outbreak of the revolution. Between 1906 and 1910, the number of tons of corn produced in Mexico was 4,084,186. The obvious conclusion is that in this one article the production for the first four years of the decade of 1930 was less than 50 percent that of the closing period of the Diaz dictatorship. There is of course, the aggravating factor that the population has increased since the former date to the extent of about 1,500,000 people.

In other fields of production for which figures are available, the decrease had been equally notable. Thus it may be seen that in spite of the existence of an avowed socialistic régime, dedicated to the principle of the well-being of the proletariat, the figures give damaging proof of the fact that serious deficiencies are to be found in the practical working of the machinery of Mexican production. It is very plain that in spite of the improved methods of production, the more rapid rhythm of the economic life and the introduction of various forms of corporativism, the per capita food supply for the individual Mexican citizen has diminished notably in the course of the twenty-seven years of revolution.

A further symptom of economic disorder is the prevalence on an enormous scale of labor disputes, unrest and controversy. The bitter rivalry of the two great labor factions, the CNT, of which Vicente Lombardo Toledano is the head, and the CROM, which was once so dominant in the days of Plutarco Elias Calles, has continued with greater or less intensity. The vicissitudes of these labor elements can be followed accurately in the weekly news sheet, called *Mexican Labor News*, which the Worker's University of Mexico City edits. The campaigns of Lombardo Toledano for domination in the various labor camps have constituted one of the most spectacular features of the labor movement in Mexico. Moreover, the tabulation of strikes is one of the most curious indications of the labor trends in the republic.

Much has been published concerning the development of an industrial democracy in Mexico. It is undeniable that the influence of the working class has increased enormously, and, it must be added, without very much concern for the numerical proportion that this class represents. The strike in Mexico is a matter of federal concern and hence affects not only the industry immediately involved, but the whole nation. A rapid survey of the actual strike figures will reveal the nature and extent of the use of this weapon of industrial combat.

During 1935, the number of strikes recognized by the Department of Labor was 410, involving 132,651 workers directly. Of this number, 183 were decided in favor of labor and 8 in favor of capital. A large number were virtual stalemates. The causes assigned to this extraordinary number of strikes is equally interesting. Of the list of causes, labor solidarity was cited as the preponderant motive in 163 cases. In only 22 instances out of the 410 was the violation of contract acknowledged to be the cause of the cessation of work. In other words, during this particular year, the major part of the labor controversies were provoked by sympathy for other movements and not for grievances that affected directly the workers who went on strike. During the year past, the strikes diminished somewhat, to 377, with over 100,000 workers affected. Of this total, 342 were decided for labor and 35 for capital. Among the causes cited, the question of overtime was indicated as the first, responsible for 111 walkouts. These figures can be verified in the reports published by the very important Instituto de Investigaciones sociales of Mexico City and in the report of October 2, 1937, of the Confederación de Camaras nacionales de comercio e industria.

On the ideological side, the gravity of the situation in Mexico is unquestionable. It is quite unnecessary to refer to the sporadic and perhaps ephemeral movements such as the *camisas doradas*, with marked Fascist tendencies, which have cropped up from time to time. There is, first of all, the presence in the Mexican scene of a number of startling and perplexing paradoxes, which manifest some of the most interesting contradictions in the make-up of the present Mexican state. Side by side with the intense devotion to material progress and to technical methods in industry and in agriculture, there is an absorption in the primitive and the indigeneous. We may speak of this paradox as the problem of the primitive versus the technical. Modern Mexico worships the modern and the progressive in implements and means of

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production, and at the same time professes an almost fanatical devotion to the Indian. The arts, the handicrafts and the spirit of the primitive races of the republic have been cultivated and preserved by the national government.

There is clearly an anomaly involved in the conservation of Indian tongues, arts and forms of cultural expression, side by side with the introduction of ultra-modern processes of production, socialist doctrines and corporativist economy. This attitude has projected itself into almost every phase of activity. Mexico has deliberately rejected in many ways the Spanish in favor of the Indian. The whole colonial period has been overshadowed by the pre-Cortesian. Here again one marvels at the capacity to reconcile the regional and the archaic with distinctly non-national or super-national Marxism.

And finally there must be mentioned the systematic deprecation of the Catholic spirit and influence. This takes the form not only of the religious question as such, but of the rejection bodily of the vast contribution of Spain and the Church to the civilization of Mexico. It is, on a smaller scale, an expression of the same mentality that eliminates the process of medieval Europe as something extraneous and alien to the evolution of that continent. The Middle Ages of Mexico, the brilliant period that dates from Cortés to the formation of the independent nation, a period during which the Church, hampered and fettered as it was, worked marvels, has been distorted and garbled beyond all belief. The reaction against the motivated presentation of Mexican history has found no more competent and talented exponent than José Vasconcelos, former Minister of Education and at the present time a voluntary exile.

Vasconcelos, in his suggestive and provocative, "Breve Historia de México," has done much toward the reconstruction of a sane portrait of the history of the Mexican people. His book, received with mingled feelings of relief and condemnation in Mexico, is an appeal for a rational and intelligent reading of Mexico's past: especially her Spanish past. The *criollo,* the mixture of Spanish and Indian and the hispanicized Indian, are the elements of the real Mexico. Catholic civilization is an intrinsic part of the fabric of Mexico. The work is an exposé of the fallacies of the revolution: of its fury, its specious reasoning, its imported doctrines, its corruption, and its facile manipulation of phrases and words. Vasconcelos strikes out against the great myths of Mexico: the legend of Benito Júarez and the imagery of the modern revolution. Iconoclastic in an inverted sense, he is doing a labor of the greatest importance to secure a balanced portrayal of the Mexico that terminates with Lázaro Cárdenas. Christian Mexico, fortified and invigorated by the Church is the basis of modern Mexican society. Neither imported Marxism nor a vague and unreal Indianism can constitute the foundations of the State. Unreality, in other words is intolerable as a point of departure for the creation of the type of social and economic order best suited to the Mexican people.

In addition to the unmistakable influence of Vasconcelos and others, both within and without Mexico, there is a perceptible increase in the Catholic activity. It must be admitted in all honesty, that the government of President Cárdenas has been infinitely more lenient in regard to the religious restrictions than the previous administrations. Still, restrictions are very much present: the constitutional stipulation on education, the laws that permit the confiscation of properties destined to an ecclesiastical use and the various obstacles that prevent the development of a vigorous Catholic press.

In spite of it all, Mexican Catholicism is surviving. New periodicals are appearing. Within the last year, *Christus,* the organ of the Mexican clergy is being issued, and *Abside,* a review of cultural tendencies only, is an expression of the best in Mexican Catholic thought. The signs of a revival are evident. The combination of economic woes, intensified by the maladjustments in industry and agriculture, plus the intellectual stimulus produced by the weakening of the revolutionary interpretation of Mexican history, are the tangible evidences that changes may be expected in Mexico. The revolution has been modified and transformed from time to time. There are indications that other modifications are even more likely to occur in the future.

Statement

My former self goes out;
The flesh is purified.
The past will be my foil
Against corrosive doubt.
Discord shall not prevail
While blood beats in my side.

The body learned its length
And breadth; my darkest mood
Was written with my name.
Now I declare my strength
And find a proper theme:
My vigor is renewed.

I drop my foolish ways
For wisdom dearly bought,
And salvage what I can
Out of my wasted days.
The present is my span:
I move to richer thought.

THEODORE ROETHKE.

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SHEPHERDS' PILGRIMAGE

By JULIA NOTT WAUGH

ALL THROUGH the Christmas season the Mexicans of San Antonio are delighting in a little shepherds' play which has been passed among their people from peasant man to peasant lad for 350 unbroken years!

Here in this Texas town, the story of the watchers of the flocks and their pilgrimage to Bethlehem is kept alive by half a dozen bands of men, each led, trained, held together by some older Mexican whose delight in pageantry is a compensation for all else that life has denied him. They play officially from Christmas Eve through Candlemas, with an especial performance for the Epiphany. Then, if the weather is fine, if they have been invited and feel inclined, they play some more.

Why stop playing, ever? And although this indefinite season of five weeks or so falls in what Texans call the dead of winter, and a performance lasts from eight or nine in the evening till one or two in the morning, it is nearly always given out of doors. For these men go where they are bidden. And who among their friends, or yours, has place in his house for a troop of twenty or twenty-five players, and an audience mounting into the hundreds? They may be found any night in all their cambric and tinsel finery in the parish house of some church of their quarter; more often by far in the back yard of a compatriot as poor as they, who in inviting them is satisfying his need for *fiesta* and performing an act of devotion.

For through the centuries "Los Pastores" has been an expression both religious and dramatic. It sprang from the "Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores dicite" of the Mass, in Rouen sometime during the eleventh century. It was brought, in inception at least, by Cortés's Friars into Mexico, took hold there and flourished through the generations. Indeed, it was accepted so graciously, modified so gayly, that in 1585 Mexican ecclesiastical authorities forbade its presentation within the precincts of a church. Taken over by the people, the little play has passed from poor pious Mexican to poor pious Mexican, less often from hand to hand than from lip to ear, undergoing in the process many a change. And changing, it has lived.

But more interesting than origins or history is the thing itself, this naif drama of the shepherds' pilgrimage to the manger, their encountering on the way a band of devils, their final arrival at Bethlehem and their lovely adoration of the Child. We have here, of course, the meat of all drama, the world-old struggle between good and evil. And it is interesting to note that although the lines carry the flavor of Mediterranean Europe, of lettered peoples, the presentation itself—colorful, monotonous, repetitive, unending—the Indians have made their own.

Let us put ourselves to a considerable amount of trouble and look up a performance, any one, anywhere. They all vary in detail, they are all the same in essence. We may find it in the yard of a humble *casa* in some outlying section, the lights of the town glowing dimly on the horizon; or we may find it in that crowded and picturesque and derelict area within three minutes of the City Hall. No matter. Our hosts have created a *nacimiento* and adorned it with whatever they possess that they hold to be beautiful. It is framed, perhaps, by a bower of greenery, in the center Joseph and Mary and the Child, behind them the traditional beasts, somewhere in the landscape the shepherds, and often after Epiphany, the Wise Men. All around are the family treasures, mirrors and shells and vases and toys, any trinkets dear to them. Old Granado, who is piety itself, utilizes for his proscenium-arch the mahogany framework of one of those vast mirrors which formed the background of the bars of the nineties. And he decorates the mountains and valleys about his holy figures with an array of animals, with sea shells, with a miniature filling-station pump, with a Roman god and a statue of Buddha!

Well, here we are. The wrecks of automobiles have been cleared out. The poultry and livestock have been penned up except for a wooly lamb who wanders imperturbably about. The *nacimiento* at one end of the yard is balanced at the other by the smallest dressing-room in the world, the curtain of which bears crude but highly characterful presentations of Michael and Lusbel. Between, an ever-increasing audience of brown men and women, of babies at the breast and flocks of children constantly in motion but never restless. This is a gathering easy to delight, for they are charmed by color and music and movement, take pleasure in merely being together. Realize that "Los Pastores" is the expression of a profoundly religious people, also that it is the amusement, the opera, the gaiety of a *fiesta* loving folk to whom American entertainment is wholly foreign.

Enter the players. Twelve shepherds there are in coats of pink or green cambric, trimmed with tinsel and lace and ribbons, wearing cavalierly turned and variously decorated hats of pink or yellow or lavender or any color. From each man's

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shoulder is slung by a broad ribbon a much-ornamented little satchel, indicating that he is on a journey. But the distinctive, the notable, feature of his outfit is his crook, a vast affair wrapped and decked in tissue paper and flowers, mounting not into a hook but usually into a sort of crown on which hang many little bells.

Accompanying the shepherds is Gila, in some versions wife to one of them, and said to be taken on the expedition as cook. However that may be, she is grandly dressed in white, almost as grandly as the Archangel Michael who, lightly violating gradations of rank and sequence of events, enters with her, and except at moments of conflict is her companion all through the evening. His part is taken by a little boy or girl, in white satin or sateen as the family exchequer permits, made fine with tinsel and ribbons, endowed with great wings, ennobled with crown and sword. Later we shall encounter the Hermit, an old fellow in a wonderful mask with a breast-enveloping white beard, wearing somebody's bathrobe and a rosary of spools, who furnishes comic relief to the great delight of the audience.

Yet to come are the devils, seven of them in black suits pointed with red, less often with silver; wearing animal masks of tin or fur, shudderful to see, suggestive of every evil. The devil-in-chief, Lusbel, is a magnificent fellow in all the richness, all the flowing elaboration, of red and black that he can achieve. Over his face falls a black veil, on his shoulders lie his heavy black locks, on his head a rich crown from which ascend tall peacock feathers. The red Indian dancer who comes toward the end has no proper part in the story, certainly no place in Judea. But he is used if a good performer can possibly be found, because the people like him, and like him very much.

The shepherds kneel in devotion, then rise to sing the song of their flocks. The Archangel Michael, together with Gila (verisimilitude has no more place in this than in any other opera), announce in song the birth of a Child who now

> Is within the gate of Bethlehem
> Near a field of flowers
> With Joseph and Mary.

The shepherds express their joy:

> Brothers all
> Happy and gay
> We sing the glory
> Of this happy day.

They set forth on their pilgrimage, joy mingled with dread of the struggle which lies before them. Great Lusbel and his cohorts six, having learned of the birth of the Child, go into a lengthy and spirited conference in which they agree that He must be found and slain, that war must be waged against mankind. Then begins the struggle between shepherds and devils. Hour after hour the conflict wears on, Lusbel threatening, warning, dangling before these simple men the age-old temptations of the golden glories of the world. When he has offered his all, still they turn from him. In a final battle slight Michael overcomes his portentous foe. But the victory is not complete: the satanic aids come to the rescue of their lord, and the black band departs with heads bloody but unbowed.

They are at least discouraged, however, and the pilgrims go on their way untroubled, singing,

> To redeem man
> A man is born
> To man's peace the door.
>
> Then sing and dance
> Then sing and dance
> Three hundred things or more

Arrived at long last at Bethlehem, they seek out the manger. Tebano, the eldest of their number, advances:

> Let's go little shepherds
> With untold joy
> To adore the Child
> Saint Mary's Boy. . . .
>
> How lovely is Mary
> Like the rosy dawn bright
> But the Child's rare beauty
> Is as Sunrise light.

Each shepherd comes forward, goes to his knees, makes his little gift—food, a toy, a musical instrument, linen for the Child, it matters not—and sings his lovely tribute. When the last of them has offered his devotion, there is a shifting of the people, a feeling of excitement, of eager expectancy. We have arrived at what to many watchers is the high moment of the production. And artistically it often is.

With a yell and a leap a red American Indian (or two) takes the floor, or rather the available earth. He adores, he dances. This pagan figure, sheathed from head to foot in crimson, with ritualistic veil and feathers, moves wildly, dramatically, often beautifully, making an offering of whatever he deems his best to Mary and her Boy.

After this dance there is a general trooping away. The people who have come in casually for an evening's entertainment, or merely to mingle with their fellows, trickle out. The drunks, if there were any, have long since gone to sleep or gone home. There remains a residue of enthusiasts of the drama and of pious souls.

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The Child is taken from the *nacimiento* by a man and a woman appointed for the act, undressed completely and placed in a sort of little cradle. Candles are lighted by shepherds and people alike. Then with the patrons standing before the *nacimiento* rocking the Baby in His nest the last songs are sung—the songs of Mary and Joseph and the little Jesus. The whole spirit of the occasion rises. It is at once more joyous and more reverent. The shepherds, singing happily, look not weary but uplifted. They come forward still singing, those figures in rose and green, each with his gay hat held against his breast, his candle in his hand, to adore the Child:

Farewell happy Manger
Farewell Jesus true
Now go we *pastores*
To the year that is new.

Behind them the people bearing lighted tapers, many of them joining in the song, young boys and girls, oldest weariest men and women, smallest sleepiest children, move slowly forward in the cold hours of a winter's morning to kneel in utter devotion, to kiss full on the lips St. Mary's Boy.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

By W. A. P. MARTIN

IN 1932, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching reported the following result of examination of thousands of students in forty-nine colleges in Pennsylvania since 1928:

> At least one-third of the students had learned nothing at all and about one-half had learned very little. In a distressing percentage of cases it was impossible to tell the difference between the freshman and the senior, and in a large number of cases the freshman knew more than the senior. . . . In a test of one hundred words found in newspapers and magazines, such as parapet, banter, mollify, bellicose, escapade, the average senior recognized only sixty-one while the freshman recognized fifty-six. Some seniors thought parapet a tropical bird and escapade a stairway outside the house [New York *Times*, May 20, 1932: Symposium on Education by Dr. Albert Edward Wiggam and Professor Walter B. Pitkin.]

The scandalous weakness in rudimentary arithmetic was evidenced by the fact that

> . . . some students could not multiply two-thirds by three-fourths and some, including seniors, could not tell the average price of two automobiles if one were bought for $700 and the second for $735 [Ibid.].

The chaotic condition above described is not limited to Pennsylvania. It is largely the result of the lack of direction and synthesis in the college curriculum which has followed the general adoption of the late Dr. Eliot's elective system, which was accepted by a naively admiring collegiate world about the turn of the century. Under the elective system the student chooses the courses of study which contain the stimulus of special interest for him. The idea of continual evolution has led two generations to feel that by the very fact that they were born into the world at a later epoch they are superior in mental power and development to their forebears, so why spend time on the antiquities? The student's election of courses has been prompted more often by a search for relaxation than by a thirst for special knowledge. He jumps from this to that snap course to achieve the points necessary for graduation.

Many have been aware that the aims of liberal arts training in colleges were being stultified. To set the academic house in order there has been a turning back on the part of President Hutchins of Chicago University and others to the old disciplines of the classics and mathematics as instrumentalities to teach men to think and to express their ideas clearly. One of the associates of President Hutchins, Mr. Stringfellow Barr, a Rhodes scholar and formerly professor of history at the University of Virginia, was this summer appointed to the newly vacated presidency of St. John's College, Annapolis, a non-sectarian liberal arts college of three hundred students, to put into effect a new program of liberal arts education.

This new program is indeed a very old one. It is not an experiment, for it has been successful for more than a millenium. It is designed to develop the student's mind, to teach him to think; as President Stringfellow Barr says, "to prepare him for the business of living."

Dr. Scott Buchanan, dean of St. John's, says:

> The clearest historic pattern of the liberal arts for the modern mind is, curiously enough, to be found in the thirteenth century. At the time of Dante's "Divine Comedy" and St. Thomas's "Summa Theologica" they were listed as follows: *Trivium:* Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic; *Quadrivium:* Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Astronomy. With the medieval emphasis on the rational activities of man and the central position of the speculative sciences of theology and philosophy, interest centered on the last art in each column.

The plan is only open to freshmen or to any upper classman willing to go back and begin his first year anew. This year the student has been given the choice of the former program or the new one. Twenty-six have chosen the new one

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and one sophomore has begun again in order to follow the new program. In succeeding years all freshmen must take the new program. It is a four-year course of study based on the hundred great books arranged in chronological order. Each year's study is divided into three categories: (1) Letters, (2) Philosophy, (3) Mathematics and Science. The first year's course is based upon the Greeks; the second upon the Latins, including Dante, Chaucer and Descartes. The third comprises: in Letters, Cervantes to Grotius; in Philosophy, from Calvin to Hume; and in Mathematics and Science, from Kepler to Boyle. The fourth comprises: in Letters, Gibbon to Tolstoy; in Philosophy, from Kant to Freud; and in Mathematics and Science, from Peacock to Veblen and Young, and includes Lavoisier, Darwin and Mendel. The student has no choice but to take the studies in their entirety. This chronological order of presentation was arrived at after much thought. Philosophy can be viewed, as Mr. Barr says, as a conversation between the best minds of all time, and in order to understand what is being said at any given time it is of capital importance to know what has been said up to that point.

The machinery of learning consists of tutorials, seminars, lectures and laboratory. To tutorials three hours of language, three of mathematics, and two of writing are devoted per week. There are four hours of seminar, two of lectures, and two and a half hours of laboratory per week. The tutors have an uncommonly high qualification and keenness for their work. The experiments in physics are the classical ones. At the outset each student makes for himself a unit of linear measurement and a unit of weight. They have christened the former a "metron," the latter a "baron." With these fundamental tools they have applied the Archimedean principle of the lever and have found the relative weights and measures of various bodies; and have located the center of gravity of parabolic, elliptical and hyperbolic segments.

The youngsters inducted in the course have already read the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" and have launched out into the deep of Plato. These books are read in translation, for the student cannot be expected to be well prepared in languages, given the scant attention these are paid in preparatory school. Greek is being studied intensively in connection with the texts read, in order to ground the student in the rudiments. The now discarded but none the less efficacious method is revived, of committing to memory several passages in the texts which exemplify the rules of syntax and grammar. One tutor is using the propositions of Euclid, another the "Meno" of Plato, as examples. This method, presumed by many to be outmoded, has the respectable authority behind it not only of Europe ancient and modern but of the Chinese training in their classics as well. Next year Latin will be taken up, and in the last two years French and German, with the same emphasis upon the rudiments as an aid to the understanding of the texts.

The Old Testament is read the first year, the New Testament the second. All the books in the list are read in their entirety. The objection was raised at a discussion of the program by outsiders that much of Galileo's "Two New Sciences" was "hot air." Why not leave out the "hot air"? The answer was made that a great book, like a great picture, might have an indifferent background which but serves to bring out the strong lights in the foreground. As a work of art the two cannot be separated. Very often, too, our judgment changes as we grow older as to what is "hot air" and what is not.

There are many books beside the Bible which impart an appreciation of the moral virtues. The mere fact that the Bible is rescued from the oblivion of the younger generation is an indication that the teaching of the virtues has an important place in education, a place usually totally lacking in non-Catholic schools and colleges. Cicero in his "De Officiis" puts us moderns to shame with his duties toward his enemy and in the rights and duties of belligerents which he sets forth.

For the list of books given in the first three years generally nothing but cordial commendation can be given. A Catholic might well look with envy at some of the books of the second year: Saint Augustine's "De Musica" and "De Magistro," Dante's "Divine Comedy," the "Summa Theologica" of Saint Thomas, the "Reduction of the Arts to Theology" of Saint Bonaventure, and the "Opus Maius" of Roger Bacon. For the senior year the list includes the names of Gibbon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Mill, Marx and Freud. The soundness of these writers may be questionable but certainly the color of our time is largely of their painting. Balzac and Zola are included; an inconsistency with the otherwise timeless value of the rest of the program. Granted that they are strong writers, they are hardly to be named in the same breath as Milton, Virgil, Dante, Plato, Aristotle and Homer.

It is interesting to note that Euclid and Descartes are studied for geometry, Leibnitz for calculus, Kepler and Newton for physics and astronomy. Harvey's "De Motu Cordis" is read and Mendel is studied along with Darwin. Thus the student is led to drink from the sources that have irrigated our civilization, the very fountainheads of ideas. If some springs are suspect, the students have within them the antidotes of Augustine and Aquinas. *Sunt mala quae libas, ipse venena bibas.*

The students are gaged by their ability to express their own ideas and those they have studied. The aim, of course, is to produce alert, wise and inquiring minds, instead of uncoordinated fact-

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reservoirs such as are turned out by our education mills in mass lots. We had these minds in our country in the early nineteenth century, and they were the product of just such a liberal arts course as is given at St. John's today.

The elective system in liberal arts education in this country now resembles the Protestant spirit which begot it—that fissiparous Protestantism which glorifies the subjective and despises the traditional as retrogressive. This spirit in the days of our Revolution was pointed to as "the dissidence of dissent." The educative body is disintegrating with furious and futile activity. St. John's is redirecting this energy to the cultivation of the mind and the bolstering up of the *civitas humana*.

EARTH-BOUND

By NATHALIE TROUBETSKOY

THE IMMENSE, unwieldy station is going through its usual hour of travail as the south-bound express is due to leave at any moment. However, as unpunctuality is punctually expected, quite a lot of the passengers are still arriving from various directions across the square. A party of foreigners from the new hotel is being chased like a flock of geese by a dour-faced Intourist guide, wearing a black leather jacket and the proudly injured expression of unassailed virginity. There was some trouble about the tickets at the last minute, somebody having asked for Vladivostok instead of Vladikavkas, using the old name; but the train must be at least an hour late, so there is no need to worry.

The tourists are soon deftly shepherded into their pens by the guide, who, like a taciturn but wise dog, is here, there and everywhere. They are traveling "soft," in the old but still comfortable first-class sleepers of pre-Revolution days, and there is plenty of room, as only a few high officials and national heroes share the privilege. But the "hard" third-class is packed to overflowing and many of the top bunks are full. Suddenly a bell clangs, the train lurches forward, stops, takes a few shaky steps backward, and at last crawls out of the station.

As the clanking iron serpent is about to leave the platform, the door of the last carriage is flung open and a human body is thrown in, followed by a very hard and new canvas bag. The door swings to and the window is blocked by a head in a Red Army cap. The face is round and stupid, with high cheek bones and a button nose, but is well fed, rosy and cheerful.

"That was a close shave, uncle, and all through your retrograde desire to find that silly old ikon. I warned you, didn't I, uncle?" The train slowly gathers momentum, but the high-pitched, nasal northern voice goes on: "That's what comes of wrong ideas, and you would have never got here at all, but for me pushing and carrying. Why, you're nothing but skin and bones! Well never mind, comrade Forelock, you'll soon be getting fat on galooshky in your blasted Ukraine. . . ."

The train lurches, there is a yell, a thud, and the jolly pink obstruction disappears from the window, leaving behind a heavy smell of shag. The passengers sort themselves out and begin talking, the last arrival is given space at the far end, by the window. No one speaks to him. He seems worn out, a wraith from another world. The narrow, intellectual face is burned, or bleached, to a curious color, the skin is tightly drawn over the delicate framework and has the dead sheen of white gold; the eyes are half-closed, the frail body lost in a rough, ready-made suit. The head is that of a teacher, a pilgrim, a mystic; the bent back and gnarled, discolored hands are those of a laborer or convict. The man might be seventy, or sixty, or even much less, for at the parting words of the soldier, a faint smile softens the tense mouth and reveals his eyes—clear hazel, with green and gold flecks, vigilant, humorous, still questing. He relaxes in his corner, amused thoughts running through his mind: "So they still call us 'Forelocks,' this new generation; and buckwheat dumplings presumably remain the symbolic dish of the Ukraine."

The smile grows, as he observes his fellow passengers. Next to him is an ancient dame in an ancient and smelly sheepskin coat, asleep already, having sat all night on her small bundle in fear of missing her train; when the old carriage stumbles over rickety couplings, she yawns, crossing her toothless mouth with tiny, hen-pecking movements of three tightly clenched, bony fingers. Next to her are two pretty, flushed factory girls, giggling and whispering. From the corner by the door, a sleek, prosperous provincial woman is rattling off the description of her visit to Leningrad with the rapidity of a machine gun to the thin little woman opposite, an artizan's wife, preoccupied with her sick child and the journey to the distant, healing South.

Stray words fly loose from the steady rat-tat-tat: "And there I was in the Imperial box . . . legs like pink candy . . . you'd think the Soviet would dress the poor girls . . . of course, he's alive, there's a man in Mirgorod . . . water coming out of a tube, all hot, may my eyes burst . . . in the palace at Tsarskoye? No wonder the poor mite looks ill . . . twenty-four rubles a pound, he said. . . . Cantharides pounded with a little mustard seed. . . ."

Heedless of her thrilling adventures, the two earnest youths beside her are deep in a discussion, using sharp, staccato words: Kolhoz, Sovtorg, Comsomol—though they find time to throw looks at the girls. Near them a gaunt, olive-skinned individual is immersed in a map of the Crimea. With the exception of the fat lady, they are all city workers going to some sanatorium.

The old man by the window sighs inwardly and raises his eyes to the seat opposite, to meet the intent gaze of its occupant—a burly fellow of about forty, in a heavy black suit and shining boots. The eyes behind the horn-rimmed glasses are suspicious, searching; the hands are large, strong, very white. Quick recognition flashes between the two men and both look away, for there is fear, and pity, in it. The train is going quickly now, many miles and hours slip by, small drab stations, stretches of purple marshland, with sudden patches of vindictively green bog, endless trees transparent and but faintly tinted, standing on gay, flowered carpets. Pine and birch, birch and pine, how beautiful they are when alive, how terrible they can be when dead. Dark pictures from a too recent

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past flood the memory of the elderly man, and are strangely reflected in the watchful eyes opposite: boundless white plains, fierce, breathless; the weak and weary falling in the narrow track and being mercifully covered by the implacable snow; unwashed bodies huddled together under scanty rags and straw; trees, dead trees, day and night. . . .

The Southern Express only stops at big stations; in Moscow it is stormed by an excited mob, a vociferous young Jew is wedged in between the fat lady and the factory girls, to mutual entertainment, the narrow corridor ceases to be an exit to anything but a fairy or a flea. The Intourist agent grimly hands over half her flock to a smiling, unctious young man from headquarters; the people in the "hard" class are now packed like sardines, but they can sleep, as there will be no more stops till morning.

Dawn creeps through the ill-fitting blinds. How tired, grimy and disheveled they all look, sleeping heavily in unnatural positions, snoring, belching, scratching, sniffing; except the elderly man in the corner. The milky light takes what there is of warm gold from his face, and against the black boards the head is as if carved from cold silver. Is he dead? The man opposite watches him with disconcerting solicitude.

Meanwhile the countryside is changing, forests recede and disperse, marshes and waste land disappear, fertile fields and juicy meadows take their place. When the travelers awake, a warmer sun is shining over a brighter world, and after Kursk, where there is good tea and hot buns, life takes a lighter and more communal tone. Eulogies and complaints, hard-boiled eggs and hair combs are cheerfully exchanged. There is of course no water in the toilet cabinet, but this is taken with the usual resignation, and the factory girls powder copiously, causing the old peasant woman to resume her crosses and mumbled prayers. The ailing child becomes the center of interest, conversation eddies round "Illyitch" and the Donbas output, the price of currants, and the pink legs of ballet girls. But it does not include the two silent men by the door, nor touch the last sensational decrees: the return of "politics" from timber camps and the disbandment of the Ogpu.

More hours and green fields slip by. Was it yesterday or the day before that the train left Leningrad? No one seems to remember, or care. Time is of little value.

A sour face, tied up in a bold cheque cloth, is poked through the door. "Kharkov! All change here for local stations, we won't stop again till Lozovaya," croaks the old conductress. Her yellow face is lopsided from toothache and she looks like an ill-tempered hare. There is a scramble to pack and tidy up; people discover kindred souls at the last moment and are loath to part. "Just a postcard. . . . Don't forget the mustard seeds. . . . In the 1934 edition. . . . Your comb, thank you . . ."

But the train sails into the fine Kharkov station quite two hours later. The exodus is general, for this is not only a junction but also the best place for dinner. Even the old man moves toward the door, his face is ashen and he trembles. A sturdy black arm shoots out and is hastily withdrawn, as the two young Communists lift him bodily off the high step. "No jumping for you, comrade, wait till you get a bit stronger on galooshky." They grin, frown and walk away in long strides.

The sun is hot, the air soft and balmy. Well-trimmed acacias float like snow balls in the blue haze of a summer midday. The old man goes to a seat at the utmost end of the long platform; here he can have his frugal meal in peace, free from those prying goggles and big white hands. Gentle memories come to him on the scented breeze. A small boy running about this very platform in a frenzy of excitement; his first train journey and first look at the sea; a white house by the river, tall poplars against a sky of incredible indigo; grey oxen, pair after pair like a silvery dragon dragging an immense red thrasher; the whirlpool beneath the weeping willow, where a man-eating monster fish lived, they said, and where the water was terrifyingly cold and dark; gathering puckered brown mushrooms in a rain of falling cherry blossoms, just on a day like this; a big auditorium and many intent young faces watching a test of soil, black soil, sweet smelling, soft as velvet.

A jolt brings him back to the present. Someone is sharing his bench. He knew it would happen; and this, then, is freedom. The burly fellow in black is speaking: "Forgive me, but you are Ivan Petrovitch Z., former professor of agronomy at this university? I thought I knew you from the moment you entered in Leningrad, but it was only here, in the light of home that I knew I was right. I attended your lectures before I was . . . removed. My name is Boris Kovalenko. I was in the Ogpu, and now I am going to Kotovka too. I was born there, you know, and when they asked me what farm I would prefer, it suddenly came back to me. Kotovka. And then I saw you and remembered the days at the university, and how you told us that earth was like God in her majesty and power and goodness, and like a woman, in her need of protection and fidelity. Queer, isn't it to go back to it, after all these years? I have forgotten the little I knew. You must know more than ever. There are so many questions I have been wanting to ask you all this journey. . . ."

The fat station bell had boomed its last warning, the sun is sliding toward the horizon and the loop-line train to Kotovka is laboriously crawling along the platform, when an elderly, frail man is shot into the last carriage, followed by a canvas bag, a shiny suitcase and a burly fellow, gesticulating wildly.

"It's just what I want to know, about the crop system. (Take my coat, Professor.) The system, what is it now, five or seven field rotation? Hurrah, we have a carriage to ourselves, we can talk. . . . Five or seven? But you had better lie down, Professor, there will be lots of time. . . . On the coat, that's better."

The train is running through typical Ukrainian country: lush, emerald green meadows, dotted with steel grey cattle; winding, twinkling rivers, with clusters of vividly green trees; pleasant villages, the cottages white-washed and thatched, tidy brick barns with glistening green roofs, new concrete buildings; flowering cherry orchards, trim cabbage patches; and rich fields. Through the young corn, the earth shows, black, sweet, soft as velvet.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The N.C.W.C. News Service considers the creation of the three new ecclesiastical provinces, the opening of the Mexican seminary, the international Eucharistic Congress at Manila and various public statements of the American hierarchy as the outstanding Catholic events for the nation during 1937. * * * On a visit to America, Bishop Paul Yu-ping of Nanking, who was educated in Rome, speaks and writes five languages, and is only thirty-six years old, expressed great faith in the future of China and scouted the danger of Communism there. He also spoke well of Chiang Kai-shek. He told of the progress of the Church in China, with its 25 native bishops, 1,700 Chinese priests and 6,000 seminarians studying for the priesthood; Catholics number 3,500,000. * * * At the Liverpool Archdiocesan Congress of Catholic Action, Archbishop Richard Downey said that "Catholic Action . . . is essentially a constructive movement with the definite aim of re-Christianizing society . . . a scheme of coordinated effort for a common spiritual end . . . an apostolate of the laity for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ on earth. . . . The detailed organization of Catholic Action necessarily depends on the needs and requirements of each country. . . . As Christians we cannot be isolated units. We are necessarily parts of the organic whole. Separated from its unity we die, abiding in it we live." * * * In the past five years the Franciscan Fathers of Corpus Christi parish, Chicago, have gained 1,200 converts among the Negroes. * * * No secular or religious periodicals in Germany were permitted to make the slightest reference to the recent letter to the German hierarchy from the American bishops. * * * Workers in Christian syndicates now number by countries: France, 490,000; Belgium, 310,000; Holland, 296,000; Austria, 154,000 and Czechoslovakia 80,000.

The Nation.—A group of conservative senators almost issued a "manifesto" in condemnation of New Deal activities. A ten-point program was drawn up for nonpartizan action, looking for economic recovery, an increase in congressional prestige, tax modification, a balanced budget, capital and labor harmony, less SEC regulation, no government competition, and states rights. Leaders in the movement, which was short-circuited before it matured, too few senators being willing to sign such an anti-Roosevelt document, apparently included Senators Vandenberg, Bailey, Burke, Byrd, Tydings and Copeland. * * * The House Rivers and Harbors Committee, unable to bring forth the regional planning bill during the special session, arranged to eliminate all references to hydroelectric activities in the bill to be presented during the regular session, except in regard to the Bonneville project. * * * The Supreme Court ruled, 7-2, that evidence secured by wire tapping cannot be used in criminal trials. This is the first test of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 which forbids wire tapping. The Department of Justice indicated it hoped it could listen in for its own edification if not for court evidence. * * * Director Fechner of the CCC declared that the nation has now 2,300,000 youths trained in CCC work and that they are a great military asset. "Training is such that they are about 85 percent prepared for military life and could be turned into first-class fighting men at almost an instant's notice." The "military aspect" of CCC, he said, was unintentional but inevitable. * * * The American Civil Liberties Union reported that no issue of freedom of the press was involved in the NLRB subpoenas of Hartley W. Barclay of *Mill and Factory* and Harry T. O'Brien of the St. Mary's *Press*. The board was "entirely justified in determining whether an employer has purchased publications used among his employers to say what he has no right under the law to say himself."

The Wide World.—According to the new edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships," authoritative year book of the world's navies, Great Britain is far in advance of her rivals in naval rearmament. * * * Fierce fighting in subzero weather was reported in the Teruel sector where Loyalist claims of decisive victory have been denied by the Nationalists who claim the capture of the villages of San Blas and Concud on the Teruel front. * * * General Erich Ludendorff, bitter enemy of Catholicism, quartermaster general and chief strategist of the German Army during the latter half of the World War, died in the Catholic Josefinum Hospital in Munich at the age of seventy-two. * * * Eight important Soviet officials were executed on the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Secret Political Police. The new 1,800-mile railroad paralleling the Far Eastern section of the Trans-Siberian railway has been completed. * * * Sixteen United States and British petroleum companies charged that the Mexican Government Labor Board's decision, increasing the wages of oil workers about one-third, violated Mexican labor laws and represented a "glaring denial of justice." * * * Returning to Paris after a tour of friendly capitals in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, French Foreign Minister Delbos asserted that he brought back with him a manifesto of confidence in France from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania. * * * Italy's ordinary budget for the fiscal year 1936-1937, which ended June 30, showed a surplus of 1,289,000,000 lire. This figure does not take into account extraordinary expenditures.

* * * *

Farm Bills.—The Senate farm bill was passed December 17, by a vote of 59 to 29. It was considered more extravagant, complicated and authoritarian than the House bill passed a week previously. The compulsory features came into play more quickly in the Senate measure. Both bills utilize acreage allotments, soil conservation, adjustment contracts, benefit payments for conserving and re-

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ducing acreage, marketing quotas and penalty taxes, but the House bill emphasizes soil conservation, while the Senate bill would stress marketing control. Both bills deal directly with wheat, corn, cotton, rice and tobacco. By the Senate plan, wheat acreage allotments would be carried down from national gross prescriptions to the individual farmer's allotment, proclaimed in advance of the planting season. Adjustment contracts would be offered individuals by which they would agree to hold their acreage within their allotments in return for benefit payments. These payments would be designed to make up the difference between the average market price and the predetermined parity price. This contractual relationship would be voluntary. A compulsory marketing quota would come in, however, when the total supply of wheat reached 847,000,000 bushels. At that point farmers would have to store 20 percent of the normal yield on their allotted acres. The Secretary of Agriculture would make them commodity loans according to a schedule of from 52 to 85 percent of the parity price of their allotted crops. Producers who sold wheat in excess of their quotas would pay penalty taxes of 25 percent of the parity price and they would be prosecuted if they didn't pay the taxes. The other crops would be handled in about the same general manner, benefit payments for soil conserving being stressed more in connection with cotton, and the tobacco program being more stringent. Marketing quotas could not be invoked until two-thirds of the growers showed their approval in a referendum. The quotas in the House bill are much higher for wheat, corn and cotton.

Housing.—As the end of the congressional session approached, day and night conferences were being held around the capitol to push through the administration housing bill to amend the National Housing Act. The House passed a bill, December 18, essentially like the one the Senate was working on. Improvement loans provided by the House passed the Senate committee the last day, and the major plan of insuring mortgages up to 90 percent of the appraised values of properties costing $6,000 or less, and 80 percent of the next $4,000, remained the same. For large-scale housing projects, the cost limit for obtaining insurance was put at $1,350 a room, and for smaller, multi-family dwelling units, at $1,150 a room. * * * The United States Housing Authority approached nearer the slum clearance and new house construction stage but still devoted most of its energies to finding which local communities had mature housing plans, and, more specifically, practical means of raising money. Under the Wagner Housing Act, local communities must bear 10 percent of the cost of construction, and they have been having such difficulties finding the cash that Administrator Straus worked out a plan to help them meet their obligations in an indirect way. The Authority had earmarked over $105,300,000 for twenty-five cities by December 17.

Japan.—*The provisional capital, Hankow, 400 miles up the Yangtze from Nanking, appears to be the next objective of the Japanese forces. In order to stop the flow of munitions and the prolongation of Chinese resistance, the Japanese are said to be making for another objective, 500 miles due south, the port of Canton. These objectives explain in part the unwillingness of the Japanese authorities thus far to give assurances that no further incidents will occur, although they have conceded the American demands for formal apologies and indemnities. Testimony on the sinking of the Panay continues to pour in, and seems to indicate that the Japanese army is responsible for both bombing and machine-gunning; a special New York *Times* story pins responsibility directly on Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, leader of the Tokyo military revolt of February, 1936, a man with the most formidable political influence. Despite considerable agitation throughout the nation, little support was evinced for punitive measures against Japan, and some members of Congress expressed themselves in favor of complete withdrawal of American forces from the war zones. In reply Secretary Cordell Hull informed the Senate that the government would protect its nationals by maintaining the present military and naval forces in China. A full reply from Tokyo was still forthcoming. Resentment at the wholesale killings reported at the taking of Nanking is said to have stiffened Chinese determination to resist to the last. The firing of the huge Japanese cotton mills at Tsingtao, Shantung, was said to be an indication of this, as well as of greater prominence of Communist leaders with their "scorched earth" policy in the Central Government's high command.

China Relief.—The Prefect Apostolic of Lishui, Chekiang, and the Vicar Apostolic of Shanghai have cabled eight prominent figures in Catholic life for assistance of the wounded and suffering in Chinese war zones. Most Rev. Wm. C. McGrath of Lishui believes that in the distressed areas care of the hapless war victims overshadows every other mission work of the Church. "They are our brothers and sisters in Christ," he declared. ". . . We should be false to our missionary vocation were we to fail them now in their hour of dire distress. Ours not to meddle in politics or pass political judgments, but to render Christlike assistance to all in the exercise of our solemn duty of charity to all men." Contributions for the Chinese are coming from various parts of the world. In response to an appeal by Cardinal Hayes of New York medical supplies and surgical instruments donated by Catholic hospitals in the Archdiocese of New York are being assembled for shipment to the Bishops of Nanking, Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang. Cardinal Hayes has also requested that donations be sent to the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York at 477 Madison Avenue. The Bishops of the Philippines conducted a week's drive for funds, clothing, medicine and food for the millions of destitute refugees, whose plight is aggravated by the coming of winter. In donating $400 for the suffering young workers of Shanghai, the Flemish young Christian workers (JOC) sent a message of sympathy and cheer which said in part: "Your families are stricken, our heart suffers with them; we think of you when we are at home and at work; we pray for you in our churches; we love you. . . ."

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Taxes and Budget.—Congress in special session gave little indication that it would seriously curtail expenditures in order to balance the budget. In spite of administrative pressure exerted by the President and Secretary Wallace, the Roads Committee of the House refused to cut down highway appropriations to the pre-emergency level. The defeat in both Houses of clauses for the farm bill which would limit the potential obligations of the government was considered a major set-back for the administration, the most serious one it has ever had in farm legislation. The status of relief was as uncertain as business activity. Meanwhile the Vinson Taxation Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee continued regular hearings on taxation problems, providing perhaps the most fruitful accomplishments of the extra session. Although preparing for substantial changes in revenue laws, the sub-committee voted down 6-3 the Treadway amendment which would repeal the undistributed profits tax outright and fix a flat 12½ percent capital gains tax in place of the present steeper and time-regulated schedule. Organizations and individuals expressed their opinions on the tax situation as publicly as possible. The Real Estate Board of New York pointed out what it considered a special hardship its members suffered from the profits tax. Loans to develop subdivisions can be paid off only by profits on lots disposed of, and mortgages of city building construction must be amortized by payments from earnings. Real estate earnings are from capital deals. Secretary Wallace said in Philadelphia: "I believe that where corporations or individuals actually invest money at risk in new expansion, employing both labor and materials, certain exemptions should be granted, but only on condition that the retained moneys not thus used should be even more heavily taxed."

Wages and Hours.—Following a conference at the White House, administration leaders decided to start a new Wages and Hours bill early in the new session, with emphasis more on limitation of hours of labor and abolition of child labor. Southern Democrats joined with Republicans in a 216 to 198 vote to recommit the original bill to its Labor Committee for further study. The American Federation of Labor opposed the measure. Fear was expressed that Congress would gradually broaden the scope of the regulation and extend its requirements so as to dominate the conditions of employment in industry. The South feared that wage differentials which now serve to attract industry would be destroyed. Farmers were fearful that wage and hour control would mean higher prices for manufactured products. Representative Ramspeck of Georgia asserted, in a public address, that if there is to be any federal wage and hour legislation in the future a reasonable bill must be framed that will pass the scrutiny of the courts and create a semi-judicial board that will be independent of any governmental department.

Economic Democracy.—The American Association for Economic Freedom was recently organized with seven Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders on its national policy board and fifty additional church leaders of the three faiths among its sponsors. The association, with headquarters in Washington, will seek to preserve political democracy and supplement it with sound measures and safeguards of economic democracy. The association will appeal to all groups to sanction and support wage earners and salaried workers in their efforts to organize into bona fide unions and thus secure for themselves the benefits of true collective bargaining. The attainment of such a democratic procedure, it is predicted, will undoubtedly add to industrial accomplishment and promote the economic well-being of all classes. In accordance with these objectives, the association will undertake studies and surveys of economic, industrial and governmental subjects and problems, promote discussion of such subjects in college and other forums and make available reports of such studies. It will also take an active interest in legislation involving its principles, such as economic planning, wages and hours, proposed amendments of the Wagner Act and the like.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—The Lord's Acre plan, wherein farm families give proceeds from one acre of land, or the equivalent in livestock, has brought people from all over the United States, and from several foreign countries, to see the plan working under the direction of the Reverend Dumont Clark, of Asheville, N. C. This plan of church support is a project of the Farmers' Federation, which began in the western part of North Carolina seven years ago, under the presidency of James G. K. McClure, jr., of Asheville. It has added thousands of followers during the past year. The working of the plan has had the effect of drawing the families into much closer contact with their churches, as they now feel a greater responsibility for the welfare of the churches, Mr. Clark declared. The plan is described as a modern adaptation of the ancient Hebraic practise of offering the firstlings of each flock and the first fruits to the Lord. * * * A course of study in preparation for marriage for non-college students was announced at a meeting in Houston, Texas, of the Episcopal Clericus. It was opened on December 19 to all young people, at the Eastwood Church, as a part of the University of Houston's community extension program. The instructor is Lyle Hooker, professor of a course in marriage relations at the university. Reverend J. W. E. Airey, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, again advanced his thesis, previously brought to the attention of the Ministerial Alliance, that boys and girls should be taught to be good husbands and wives. * * * On December 18, President Roosevelt called upon citizens to advance democratic principles in the United States and not allow "divided opinions regarding situations in other lands" to "create cleavage between religious groups in our own nation." The President's statement was released by Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians.

G.O.P.—Dr. Glenn Frank, former president of the University of Wisconsin, was selected as chairman of a committee on program to draft a new charter for the

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Republican party. John Hamilton, chairman of the party's executive committee, asserted that the effort was made to name men and women who are representative of the feelings and views of every section of the country and of all social and economic groups, and to thereby construct a committee close to the ground and capable of interpreting the views and wishes of local Republicans whether in the great cities or in the small towns and on the farm. It is not considered likely that a national conference will be held to adopt a declaration of principles, as advocated by Mr. Hoover. The report of Dr. Frank's committee will not be made public for the 1938 campaign but will probably be issued early in 1939 so that some of its recommendations might be incorporated in the platform for the presidential campaign of 1940. Thus far only 132 Republicans have accepted places on the committee. Fifteen states, each of which will have at least one member, still are without representation. Mr. Hoover declared that the appointment of a committee on program "means that the Republican party has moved out of a position of criticism and negation and is taking an affirmative and constructive stand."

Labor.—"The C.I.O. is determined to keep after Jersey City and Hague until they are licked," according to the union attorney, Morris L. Ernst, and Mayor Hague has indicated his determination to fight as hard as possible. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League are both rallying opposition to the city administration and planning mass meetings. Special committees favoring the C.I.O. were formed in Jersey City, N. J., among congressmen and as far afield as Alleghany County, where was united the "Pittsburgh Ministers' Committee for Civil Rights in Jersey City." * * * The United Automobile Workers were building a war chest of $500,000 to fight Ford. Organizers and union members were roughly handled by the police of Dearborn and of Kansas City. Gas and guns were used in Kansas City, and regular employees were discovered going to work with all sorts of weapons. President Martin charged the city government with violently unfair anti-union activity. * * * The Steel Workers Organizing Committee stressed five problems at the end of their first convention: the "terrifying" effects of mechanization in the steel industry which may be expected to do away with over 100,000 jobs in the near future; the enmity of Little Steel; the opposition of the craft unions of the A.F.L.; decisions of the NLRB unfairly favoring the craft unions; insecurity and unemployment. * * * Court decisions hit at union labor during the week. Fourteen men of the Algic crew who held a sit-down strike at Montevideo, Uruguay, were sentenced for violating their articles. Twenty-two Douglas Aircraft sit-downers were convicted by jury of conspiracy to commit forcible detainer. In Cleveland the steel labor men who pleaded guilty of obstructing the mails in the steel strike were sentenced to fines and imprisonment.

Religious Freedom.—The importance of liberty of worship in the United States will be represented at the New York World's Fair by a statue dedicated to Freedom of Religion. The statue will be portrayed by a young, modestly attired girl with her face raised reverently toward the skies and holding a prayer-book in her hands. On the base of the statue, which will be thirty feet tall, a number of houses of worship will be outlined to indicate that freedom of worship in the nation is not confined to any one sect or creed. The statue, together with three others symbolizing freedom of press, freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, will be placed in a prominent position on the $60,000,000, mile-long Central Mall of the Fair. This group, known as "The Four Freedoms," will be placed behind a portrait statue, depicting George Washington on his arrival in New York for his inauguration. The thought behind the arrangement is that with a century and a half of democratic government founded by Washington and his generation already elapsed, America may look toward the future as calmly as does the Father of Our Country. The future will be represented by a huge and unorthodox trylon. This will be placed in front of the Washington statue and the freedom group so that a straight line drawn through them would bisect the Statue of Liberty, miles away in New York's harbor.

Three Questions.—In the current issue of *Temps Présent,* Jacques Maritain deplores the chaos of the day and the confusion caused by the various claimants to the title of standard-bearer of civilization. M. Maritain cites the convictions of leading biologists that acquired characteristics are not transmitted by heredity to substantiate his contention that "civilization . . . is conserved and built up [only] in the social body, in everything that institutions, education, common rules of life, laws, customs, traditions and examples prepare and communicate to every human being born into the world." M. Maritain believes that an elementary distinction between barbaric and civilized conceptions of the world must be clearly drawn as a first step in the restoration of order. He summarizes this belief in three basic questions: "(1) Do you believe that truth depends, not on that which is, but on that which best serves at the time what you regard as the forward movement of history, the mission of the race or the future of the nation? These concepts are identified in fact with the interests of your party and your hatreds? (2) Do you think that, in order to affirm a principle or realize a program either of social revolution or national regeneration, it is permissible to put to death an innocent man (innocent of every crime but that of not believing in that principle or serving that program)? (3) Are you of the opinion that, under the conditions in the world today, war (civil or international) can be not only accepted in case of legitimate defense but deliberately willed and threatened as a means good in itself of realizing political ends?" Only persons who answer all three in the negative can collaborate in the constructive civic action needed to restore order, for these negative answers reveal "interior dispositions that contain the germ and the very first ground plan of a common conception of man and of life."

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The Play and Screen

Drama at Inish

LENNOX ROBINSON'S comedy was given here several years ago by a company recruited in New York. It was played then under the title, "Is Life Worth Living?" and its players included Whitford Kane, Margaret Wycherley, Jerome Lawler and Ralph Cullinan. It made at that time no deep impression, and the present production by the Abbey Players confirms its thinness of texture.

Yet in the idea there is the germ of a first rate satiric comedy. The arrival of a theatrical troupe in a small Irish town, and the effect upon the simple inhabitants of a course of Ibsen, Stridberg and Dostoyevski, has pungent possibilities, but these are only hinted at in Mr. Robinson's script. It has been stated that Mr. Robinson wrote the play in eight days, as if this were a marvellous thing in itself. It would only have been marvellous if he had produced a play worthy of its subject, and this he has not done. If Mr. Robinson had collaborated with some master of stage-craft—for instance our own George F. Kaufman—he might have produced one of the most delightful comedies in our language, or rather the Irish branch of it.

His sense of character, and his gift of dialogue are unique, but he was either unable to fashion a plot properly, or unwilling to take the time to do it. In fact, haste is written all over the play. Instead of making us see the effect of the modernistic dramas on the individuals of the town, we mostly hear about it; instead of getting down to fundamentals, and to the serious business of construction, Mr. Robinson fritters away his energy in local color and unnecessary dialogue. If Mr. Robinson had taken his work more seriously, he might have produced a masterpiece; as it is, he has written only a thin, if at times amusing, skit. Some day perhaps he will rework his play and take time doing it. Then we may have the comedy implicit in the idea.

The Abbey Players give on the whole an excellent performance of "Drama at Inish," though both Mr. McCormick and Miss Mooney might get more out of the two strolling thespians. Joseph Linnane as the son, Austin Meldon as the innkeeper, Maureen Delany as his wife, Eileen Crowe as his sister, and Arthur Shields as the boots, are, however, admirable. (At the Ambassador Theatre.)

"Julius Caesar" Again

A SECOND hearing of the Mercury Theatre's production of "Julius Caesar" intensifies the impression it made on me at first. It is the most exciting presentation of the year so far. That it is not Shakespeare in the accepted sense, that it destroys much of the poetry of the lines and with this their music, that it cuts to pieces the last two acts, and leaves out what is to many the high moment of the tragedy, the appearance of Caesar's Ghost, must be admitted. But the fact remains that Orson Welles has brought something to the play which it and Shakespeare performances in general have long needed—the sense of vitality. Realizing that with actors untrained in the Shakespearean tradition it is impossible to give "Julius Caesar" in the grand manner, Mr. Welles decided to make it a modern play with modern implications. In a day of mass movement he makes his crowd the chief protagonist.

It is idle to ask whether the play is meant to be pro-Fascist or anti-Fascist; whether Brutus, the Liberal, is the hero, or Cassius, the Radical; whether Antony is meant to be a hypocrite, or Caesar a Mussolini. Shakespeare's tragedy offers no perfect parallel to modern events, though there are strange likenesses to what is happening in Europe today. Those who see the Mercury "Julius Caesar" must see it without preconceived notions as to how it should be played, or what its meaning is. They must see it with open minds; there is no doubt that their eyes will be open and wide open. It is vital and imaginative, and the latter virtue in particular is rare indeed today.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Hitting a New High

UNUSUAL, at least, is the assortment mixed up for Lily Pons's latest screen play, embracing some occasionally funny antics characteristic of Jack Oakie and Edward Everett Horton, and, more importantly, a mixture of both classical and popular-romance music, which the coloratura soprano sings quite impressively. On the serious side, Miss Pons sings the fascinating mad scene from "Lucia," the "Nightingale Song" by Saint-Saens, and "Je Suis Titania," from "Mignon." Her lighter numbers include "Let's Give Love a Chance," "I Hit a New High" and "This Never Happened Before."

The premise on which the play introduces a French café singer to opera, is extremely bizarre. It is arranged by her press agent to have her shipped to dark Africa as a hoax to have her "discovered" by an operatic impresario traveling on a hunting party. The story of "Hitting a New High" is pretty trite for the most part, becomes boringly long, and gives its chief pleasure only in Miss Pons's singing. But, then, it must be difficult to force a wedding of grand opera and Jack Oakie screen comedy.

Mannequin

THOUGH divorce is the motivation, "Manneqiun" boasts of some remarkably harmonious performances by a cast which rises well above the dated pattern of a domestic triangle. Joan Crawford, Spencer Tracy, Alan Curtis and Ralph Morgan are the principals. They travel closely through the story of Manhattan that was written by Katharine Brush, pointing up the rise and fall of her Henry Street character, who, on reaching the wealth of Park Avenue penthouses, befriends a newly married couple from his old neighborhood, and barely escapes from a plot hatched by the groom to relieve him of his money. The play is by no means an outstanding one, but has its interesting moments.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

THE FAR EAST

San Francisco, Calif.

TO the Editor: In our consideration of the Far Eastern situation our judgments are inclined to rest only on evidence which is all too current. Nor am I so sure that they are divorced from that pervasive contemptuousness, best illustrated by "skibbe," the epithet of derision by which we inclusively characterize the Japanese. They surely are deeply colored by the fulminant moralizations that derive from the "democracies"—the Soviet and Third International press included—and which our anglophilic press so patronizingly amplifies.

When the acquisitions of Clive had been consolidated and the culture of the poppy had become a government monopoly, His Majesty's fleet, and merchantmen behind it, massed before Hong Kong, wresting it from China to make of it the British center of influence in the Orient—the center of influence from which the trade in opium was thrust on the Chinese to make of them a "nation" of dope addicts. British statecraft today remains the only effective barrier against the combined efforts of the other nations through the League of Nations—former Prime Minister Baldwin has admitted it is defunct—adequately to control the traffic in narcotics. And the incursions of the Japanese through their smuggling activities, we may be sure, have not been looked on approvingly.

Our own introduction to the Celestial Empire was more peaceably negotiated. That is why we yet have "face" among the Chinese. But we have lost some of ours because, in collaborating with the other western powers who gained their spheres of influence in the same manner as did the British, we have had recourse to the same deceptive diplomacy at the expense of the Chinese.

The nub of the Boxer uprising was the disaffection of the Chinese toward the intrusions of the western powers. But that disaffection was quelled by the bayonets of the pillaging and plundering marines of the western nations. When the smoke of that abortive attempt to dislodge the westerners from their ill-gotten "spheres of influence" had dissipated, there was crystallized a new economic doctrine toward China, the doctrine of "equal rights" to the commerce (exploitation) of China—an agreement to which China was not a signatory, which paid scant heed to her desires though hers was the most vital interest concerned, an agreement euphemistically called the doctrine of the Open Door.

The fruit of the Open Door was the development at Shanghai of the International Settlement with its extra-territorial rights—foreign supervision and collection of customs, consular courts, etc.—until 1922 when, as a result of the Nine Power Treaty, an instrument confirming the "integrity" of China, be it noted again, *negotiated without her assent*, these functions were returned to Chinese jurisdiction excepting foreign supervision of customs to guarantee their "proper" disposition. By what stretch of the imagination is the integrity of China guaranteed when she is given no choice in the selection of the nations with whom she wishes to trade, when she is given no voice in the selection of "guests" in her dominions? China is the only potential sizable free-trade (undeveloped industrially) country of the world today. And the western powers will brook no interference with her "freedom"—their economic potentialities there.

The Japanese are a nation of 70,000,000 exclusive of Korea and Formosa, settled on an archipelago which cannot support them. They have been excluded from North America and Australia. South America is being gradually barred to them. There is no room for them in Europe nor would they be allowed to expand in Africa. Though we may condemn some of the social customs which are partly responsible for her rapidly increasing population, still that fecundity is the result of a consonance with natural laws! Since the Chinese have neither the will nor the energy to develop the natural resources of eastern Asia for her own advancement, the Japanese have a more rightful claim to them than any of the western nations.

Japanese investments in China represent 80 percent of her foreign capital investments; trade with her 24 percent of her foreign commerce. British trade with China represents but 1.5 percent of her foreign commerce; it is only 3.5 percent of ours. British investments in China amount to $2,500,000,000, ours $1,250,000,000—both insignificant when compared to the Japanese stake. When we consider the distance that separates Japan and China is less than that of any of her competitors, that she can produce more cheaply even if inferiorly, that China being poor economically has little with which to buy, and that between the two races there would naturally be a greater affinity than exists with any occidental nation, it is hard to believe that the anti-Japanese boycott that preceded the Shanghai incident a few years ago was the expression of a spontaneous disaffection toward Japan. Western intrigue was somewhere involved! It may lodge in the fact that Chiang Kai-shek is partly the puppet of British and American interests.

Another aspect which is dismissed as irrelevant here is the part that Communism is playing in world affairs. For the past fifteen years the Chinese have been systematically embittered toward the Japanese. It remained for Japan to determine at what time the communistically indoctrinated Chinese, with the U. S. S. R. as her ally, had become a sufficient threat to her security to warrant action. Unlike Americans who have a naive faith in the perpetuity of their democratic government, and consequently will allow and promote the growth of any sort of political fungus, they did not wait to be overwhelmed from within as well as without. How presumptive or anticipatory has been her course we are in no position to say.

The map of Asia when reversed is roughly comparable to that of Europe. Just as Britain courts France as a buffer state against Germany, so Japan, in the conquest of North China and the setting up of puppet states there, seeks a buffer against encroachments of the Soviet Union.

It ill-behooves us to decry the "aggression of Japan"—on moral grounds—when the evidence raises the suspicion of our own distinterest; when, at the same time on another

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front, we are pursuing similarly, a course of economic imperialism. In Mexico "agreements" negotiated with successful insurrectionists whom we had aided to power "might not be interrupted." According to Ambassador Daniels the squeezing out of American oil interests "will not be tolerated." We may not pursue the tactics of Machiavelli in the Far East, of the Rugged Individualist in Mexico, and expect, in dealing with our South American neighbors, that they will accept us at our face value when we don the robes of the Good Samaritan. Britain has not lost prestige in world diplomacy because her armaments have not exceeded those of her competitors, but simply, with twentieth century means of communication, the world at large is able to judge the merit of her methods almost as soon as they are applied. And ours will suffer if we join with the "democracies" in pursuing the same deceptive policies. With nations, as with individuals, to expose hypocrisy is to disarm the hypocrite. Therein lies our greatest security for continued peace—a free and unbiased press; but not a press which is so ill-liberal that it is unable or unwilling to distinguish the merits of a political institution which, trusting in God, seeks, falteringly it is true, the welfare of its citizens, as opposed to another which, denying God, promotes class hatred and international discord.

The world is so disposed that there are natural "spheres of influence" which, if judiciously "exploited," will promote peace. The Scandinavian countries are the breadbasket of Britain. Germany, on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea, is the natural and most economical corridor for the produce of the Central European states. It is industrial whilst they are largely agricultural—a balance conducive of harmonious trade relations and amity, as the similar situation is for Scandinavia and Britain. Italy is overpopulated. It straddles the trade lanes between Europe and Asia and the Antipodes. Its arid and undeveloped (Ethiopia) colonies afford no relief for an overburdened people. It is right for her to employ her strategic position for commercial concessions from the more fortunate powers. Portugal and Spain enjoy fraternal relations and, between them, are self-sufficient. The western European Powers have—exclusive of the ill-gotten gains as a consequence of the inequitable Treaty of Versailles which will have to be returned before any concord can be expected in intra-European relations—Africa and the Antipodes among them from which to derive the wealth to support their teeming millions. The economic preeminence of the United States and Japan on their respective continents and, for the former, in the Western Hemisphere, needs no elaboration. What there is need of, if the development of commerce is to promote peace, is a recognition of and respect for differing racial temperaments and traditions. Natural surpluses will normally find their markets because artistry, novelty, and utility, as well as physical needs, are human necessities.

In a world in which all nations are gradually becoming self-sufficient, there is a crying need to recognize that mass production in field and factory must soften its tempo. In the planned economy that will follow, the subsistence groups need not be ignored, for planning that is planning recognizes the needs of the least as well as the greatest. Much that is spent in the development and extension of foreign markets could be more wisely and profitably employed in improving the status of these subsistence groups, thereby developing a broader home market. It would delay the inevitable restrictive quota. It would not be hampered by foreign competition. It would entail no threat to world peace.

JOHN F. QUINLAN, M.D.

WHY THE IRISH LEAVE HOME

Portland, Ore.

TO the Editor: Why do the Irish leave home? This is the all important question. Because life is hard, and they can't make a living.

Why is life hard? Why is there no living? Because there is too much politics, too little common sense, too much leadership of the wrong sort, too much hypocrisy and personal promotion in office.

There is no excuse for the exodus, as Ireland naturally is one of the richest countries in the world.

In cooperation with private capital, its government could devise and promote ways and means of giving employment to twice the number of its present population. They could develop the phosphates of County Clare, the silica in Achil, the mineral resources in Donegal, and the copper and barytes near tidewater of Cork, besides the fishery industry on a scale so colossal and profitable, that they would have to import labor.

Instead of this constructive program, Ireland is afflicted with what is called "peanut politics" for the aggrandizement of egotistic leaders. That is why the Irish leave home.

CORNELIUS O'DONOVAN.

A VICIOUS DECISION

Wollaston, Mass.

TO the Editor: Your editorial, "A Vicious Decision," in your issue of December 10 is excellent for the questions it asks, and the thoughts it arouses, on the matter of a notorious legal decision in Massachusetts, by which a motorist "too drunk" to be responsible was freed with a fine though he had killed two pedestrians.

May I point out, however, that the really "vicious" decision was the decision that led to the relegalizing of intoxicating beverages, the establishment of thousands upon thousands of wayside drinking places, and the stupendous advertising campaign to induce and increase the consumption of liquor. This decision, made chiefly for the money to be derived from a legalized liquor traffic, resulted in the deaths of over 40,000 persons in alcohol-caused traffic accidents in the fifty-one months following repeal. (Figures based on National Safety Council reports.)

The real killer in these cases is Alcohol. The immediate responsibility may be the liquor-drinkers', but in its broader aspects, the responsibility lies with those who voted for the conditions that have made this slaughter possible. Those who voted thus cannot condemn the drink-driver without condemning themselves.

H. J. MAINWARING.

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Books

Will Power

This Is My Story, by Eleanor Roosevelt. Illustrated. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.00.

MRS. ROOSEVELT often remarks about her extreme shyness but it must have been an attribute of the period, for I can remember when I was about ten being invited to lunch with her at the house of a cousin who had been a great friend of her beautiful mother. I had been told that I was to meet a little girl who had lost both her father and mother so I regarded her with a romantic sorrow which was soon mixed with awe when Miss Roosevelt had the courage to tell a funny story at the very formal lunch table when I could only mutter monosyllables. My wretchedness and her forthright manner and hearty smile stamped the occasion on my memory.

Whatever else "My Story" may be, it is the record of a woman who holds one's respect. The only plain girl in a family of beauties, losing her father whom she worshiped when she was ten, brought up strictly by a grandmother whose life centered round a dipsomaniac son, with two lovely young aunts much given to hysteria and emotional crises, with none of the outdoor sports which bring healthy happiness to modern children, Eleanor Roosevelt developed through her own will power, a character that was built up on loyalty and unselfishness and such stoicism that she says she has never let anything physical interfere with anything that had to be done. Mrs. Roosevelt has been able to work all day in a canteen with a finger cut to the bone and to travel for two days by motor with pleurisy rather than inconvenience her husband when on official business. But she admits that carried so far such discipline does sometimes kill one's power of enjoyment.

Married when she was nineteen and relying completely on her mother-in-law and husband for guidance, with her life pivoted about her babies, it was not until she went to Washington, as a Cabinet member's wife, that social duties forced Mrs. Roosevelt to conquer her timidity. When illness struck down Mr. Roosevelt at the critical moment of his political career, she embarked upon politics herself under the tutelage of Mr. Howe in the League of Women Voters, the Democratic State Committee and the Women's Trades Union. During the first year of her husband's illness, she slept in one of the children's rooms, dressed in a bathroom and worked so hard that even her nerves gave way—for half a day! Then she locked herself up in an attic room and cried it out.

One incident in the book that will become famous is of "Uncle Ted" coming up from the White House for his niece's wedding with the result that the guests all flocked into the dining-room to hear his flow of anecdote and the bride and groom found themselves alone. But they unresentfully joined the President's audience.

Mrs. Roosevelt's impressions of Europe as a girl are pretty dull reading, but as a whole it is a simple friendly book with a background of a forgotten New York—the document of a fine woman.

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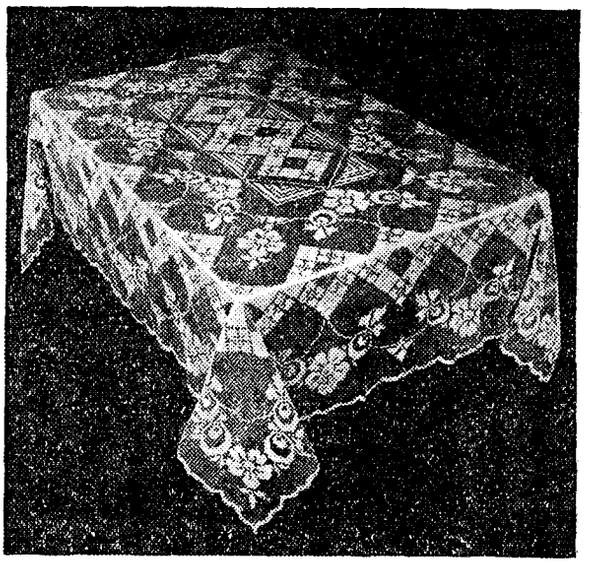

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Chastity

Christianity and Sex, by Richard C. Cabot, M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.00.

HERE is a book of only 78 pages in the praise of which this reviewer would almost believe excess to be a virtue. Dr. Cabot, a Harvard graduate, was chief of the medical staff at Massachusetts General Hospital. In 1931, he was president of the National Conference of Social Work, and from 1920 to 1934 taught social ethics at Harvard. With his background and experience Dr. Cabot emphatically takes positions with regard to sex which are directly opposed to the assumptions of those who hope to make folks pure by education or to eliminate sex crime by fixing attention on sex.

Dr. Cabot is against sex education as commonly understood; against the study of biology and botany as a cure or preventive of unchastity; against the sacredness-of-the-body slogans of the sex-hygiene schools of thought. The compelling reason for this position is that all these things tend "toward making us conscious of the body separately and not as a part of a larger whole." To acquire purity is to consecrate our tendencies to "a more inclusive love." "To teach the sacredness of the body, then, means helping some person by the contagion of example to such practise as enables him to forget it, to master it or to sacrifice it."

This reviewer commends the sanity of doctrine in "Consecration of Affections" set forth in Chapter Two. Here is the traditional Catholic viewpoint. Dr. Cabot is for modesty and will not praise much that is said in the interest of frankness. "We are not meant to think or speak or write of everything in heaven and earth, in every company and at every time." Dr. Cabot urges the avoidance of occasions of sin. "Explosions of one kind or another are always likely to take place . . . unless through modesty, through self-control, through higher enthusiasms, we get away from the environment that tends to explosion." And this brings the doctor to speak on control of the imagination, which for him is as necessary as control of temper. Even words can stir the imagination. "There are certain words which in their mere use do harm, and one of them is the ordinary use of the word sex." Such use splits body and soul apart where God has joined them together. Suppose a dancer suddenly becomes conscious of a physical element in dancing, his feet; his dancing will be spoiled."

And so we are tempted to quote line after line. It is unfortunate that we find here and there among so much pure gold a little dross. Dr. Cabot is unfair, to say the least, to Saint Paul, when he writes: "Paul, who could find nothing better to say of marriage than, 'It is better to marry than to burn.'" Surely the doctor must know Ephesians, v, 22-32, ending with: "This is a great sacrament, but I speak in Christ and the Church." Moreover, it is not clear in what sense Dr. Cabot writes of the following: "Contraception and venereal prophylaxis may turn out to be blessings or curses or neither. I do not believe anyone has yet a long enough perspective to decide. But these devices have solved no moral problem." Surely it would have been the full truth to have stated that contraception, being essentially immoral, can never solve any moral problem. Moreover, contraception cannot promote those relations between men and women which develop their growth.

However, we can hardly agree with the following: "Chastity in the married and in the unmarried is the growth principle applied to the relations of men and women. Jesus Christ, the supreme energizer of our growth, is therefore the testing principle of our social morality whether we recognize Him and accept His leadership or not."

IGNATIUS W. COX.

"A Wise Woman, and Witty"

Eight Decades: Essays and Episodes, by Agnes Repplier. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.00.

MISS AGNES REPPLIER did not have to wait like most of us for old age to make her wise. But if anyone doubts the inextinguishable vitality of wisdom, the freshness of this eighty-year-old wit must certainly convince him. The essay which gives the volume its title fulfils a certain biographical promise by fugitive insights rather than by any conscious self-revelation. As one would expect, Miss Repplier is always, even when viewing her own past, witty and objective and crisply intelligent. But she is none the less generous in some of the flashes of how she learned her particular business. Her account of her ten-year-old dealings with Goethe's "Faust" reveals all the independence of enterprise that was to characterize her mature career.

Her portraits of the interesting personalities whom she has encountered are all too brief, but unlike most reminiscences of the great, they are both edged and relevant. The story of the friendship with Andrew Laing that flourished on letters and ended in meeting is a classic in its own kind. The glimpse of Father Hecker advising a struggling story-teller to write essays is another. So is Henry James on history and G. K. Chesterton on the American woman. But to cite these last two is to leave the initial essay and plunge into the varied assortment that rounds out the book. Even to give a few of the titles is to whet the appetite for this feast of good things—"The Perils of Immortality," "The Headsman," "The Estranging Sea," "The Grocer's Cat." Perhaps the most distinguished of all is an exquisite essay on Horace that attributes his two-thousand-year-old popularity to "the fact that Horace was a man wholly disillusioned, and wholly good-tempered."

There is something more than a little Horatian in Miss Repplier's own explanation of the Puritans' notorious inhospitality to dissenters: "Being reformers themselves, they naturally did not want to be reformed." But perhaps best of all is that passage in "Cruelty and Humor," in which the essayist turns the edge of her wit upon her own instrument: "Laughter, we are told, freshens our exhausted spirits and disposes us to good-will—which is true. It is also true that laughter quiets our uneasy scruples and disposes us to simple savagery."

HELEN C. WHITE.

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Napoleon's Nemesis

Napoleon, by R. McNair Wilson. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

HAD DR. WILSON written a book purely on the economic thesis which is dominant in his biography, it would unquestionably have been much duller reading. Yet the thesis itself is so far and away the only claim to newness that the reader at times becomes impatient with the narration of events with which he is long since familiar. Again Dr. Wilson apparently relies too heavily on the recently published Caulaincourt Memoirs, of which (so says his publishers) his book is the first to make use, for the comfort of those who find his interpretation tenable. It is the debt system, fostered by international bankers, which he casts in the rôle of the devil of the Napoleonic era and the Emperor himself, one of the very few men of his time to recognize the evil for what it was, in the rôle of attempted preserver of European economic freedom. Here, Dr. Wilson, asserts is the key to the Bonaparte enigma.

Napoleon, who had suspected that financial policies were at the root of the trouble, then learned on his first Italian campaign the true nature of his foe. Gold of indemnities, which he was constantly forwarding to Paris, quickly flooded back to London where the bankers, in the forefront of the industrial revolution, had plunged all England into a nation of debtors. Because England needed markets for her goods, the bankers, who also controlled those on the Continent, insisted on that free trade which Napoleon reasoned would extend the debt system—one, he felt, of economic slavery—to all nations. Hence the Napoleonic wars were fought in a continuous effort to bar continental ports to English trade.

It is unfortunate, from the standpoint of the creditability of his biography, that Dr. Wilson has seen fit to paint Napoleon in such glorious colors, slurring over as he wields his brush many characteristics and episodes that unprejudiced historians have shown were not praiseworthy. Its value is less, therefore, in the field of character portrayal than in its unusual interpretation of those world-shaking events which make the period one of the most fascinating in the world's history.

JOHN GILLAND BRUNINI.

Highlanders and Lowlanders

My Scotland, by A. G. Macdonell. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. $2.50.

IS THE Scottish race to be English or to make a return to Gaelic culture? That is the question this book asks. Although it does not affirm one side or the other, the author lets it be known that not in the very far future, "Scotsmen must decide, whether they wish to be citizens of a free country or citizens of a rather stale music-hall joke." Dealing with the two racial strains, Gaelic Celt of the Highland and Cymric Celt of the Lowland, Mr. Macdonell gives us the why and the wherefore of the history of Scotland to date, from his point of view backed by the characteristics of the two.

CATHOLIC HERALD

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Step by step the picture of the Highland clans come before us from the days of the Border Wars to the now evident statement, "Lochaber No More," and the few that remain behind as Gillies and laborers are a pitiful reminder of the glory that was in the hills. Then turning to the Lowland he brings to the fore that which enabled the dwellers of the flats to withstand the English and even when conquered not to sink and disappear below the surface of British pressure. That the Lowlanders have been given a weapon to recapture Edinburgh, in the policy of England's treatment of her merchants at the time of the financial crash in 1922, cannot be denied. And the Cymric alone can solve his destiny, for the Gaelic of the past is no more.

PHILIP H. WILLIAMS.

G. O. P.

Who Were the Eleven Million?, by David Lawrence. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $1.00.

THE FIRST part of this brief essay is an analysis of the 11,000,000 votes which constituted Mr. Roosevelt's popular majority in the last election. Mr. Lawrence found that there was a direct relation between relief expenditures and AAA contributions and the successful candidate's percentages. As federal funds increased, the margin of victory was greater. As they decreased, Mr. Landon's percentages increased. However close the rural vote may have been, Mr. Roosevelt could have won the election with the majority he obtained in nine cities.

It is interesting to note that the counties which geographically embrace these cities coincided in nine instances with the list of the first ten counties receiving the highest relief appropriations in the entire country. These same cities gave Mr. Roosevelt such a preponderant margin in each of their respective states as to be sufficient to swing the electoral vote in every single one of them. In other words, there were 223 electoral votes in the states containing the nine cities. When those votes are added to the 113 electoral votes in the Solid South, the result is a total of 336 electoral votes or 69 more than needed to win the presidency in any contemporary election.

The intrusion of politics into relief expenditures is always an unpleasant topic. The assumption that the need was greatest in those nine key cities may or may not be valid. But are victories won by such methods enduring? Will the New Deal, by shrewd allocation of relief funds and using all the vast propaganda resources of government, be able to perpetuate itself in power?

In the second part of the essay, Mr. Lawrence expresses the conviction that, if federal funds carry on in 1938 and 1940, the opposition party cannot possibly win—unless there is a fusion in the cities of Independent Democrats and Republicans pledged to preserve constitutional government. We look forward hopefully to the rebirth of an effective opposition to the party in power. But whether such rebirth will take the form that Mr. Lawrence suggests can better be determined after Dr. Glenn Frank's committee determines upon Republican campaign policies.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

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Briefer Mention

You Have Seen Their Faces, by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White. New York: Viking Press. $3.75. *Abridged, paper, Modern Age Books, Inc.* $.75. This sober and convincing analysis of the deplorable living conditions of 10,000,000 of our fellow Americans is strong meat. Actual quotations from sharecroppers and striking half-tones make it an even more powerful plea for justice. The author of "Tobacco Road" believes the remedy can be found only after a thorough, impartial investigation of the whole problem.

Butler's Lives of the Saints: Volume VI, June; edited revised, and copiously supplemented by Herbert Thurston, S.J. and Norah Leeson. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. $2.75. The tenth volume, in order of publication, of this admirable and scholarly works tells us, as usual, of saints illustrious and obscure, saints recent and remote, saints about whom we have an abundance of historical data and those about whom we can affirm almost nothing. Of special interest among those not yet canonized is Blessed Anna Maria Taigi, whose husband was a witness at the process of her beatification.

John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism, by Maximin Piette. New York: Sheed and Ward. $5.00. This brilliant and accurate work embraces a well-documented survey of Protestantism from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, a sympathetic treatment of the founder of Methodism, and an unbiased interpretation of that movement which sought to awaken the soul of England at a time when the destruction of Catholicism in the country was almost complete.

History and Religion, by the Most Reverend Alban Goodier, S. J. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 7*s.* 6*d.* Archbishop Goodier seeks first to find men's motives and drive, and to understand the less material and more constant factors in history. This dozen "occasional historical essays" are able and stimulating treatments, for the most part, of people and the repercussion on Europe of their spiritual activity. It is an interesting volume, at times seeming disconcertingly ingenuous, always enlightening.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN MICHAEL KENNEDY has been associated with the Department of Commerce as Assistant Trade Commissioner at Milan and at Rome.

RICHARD PATTEE teaches at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

THEODORE ROETHKE is a Michigan poet.

JULIA NOTT WAUGH sends this article from San Antonio, Texas. The translations of the songs used in the article are from the thesis presented by Katherine Field Tarver for her M.A. degree at Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas.

LT. W. A. P. MARTIN sends this article from Annapolis, Md.

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